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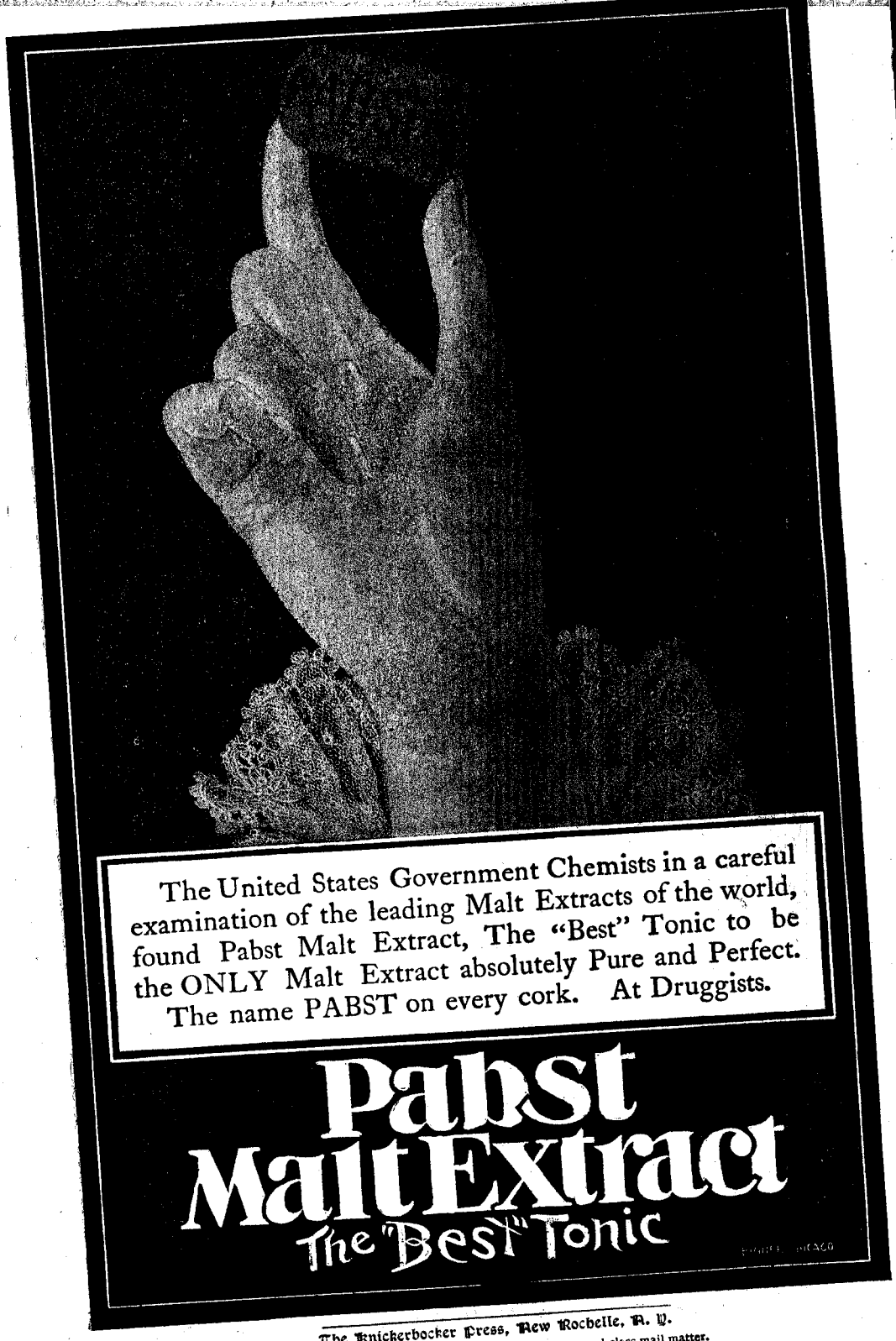
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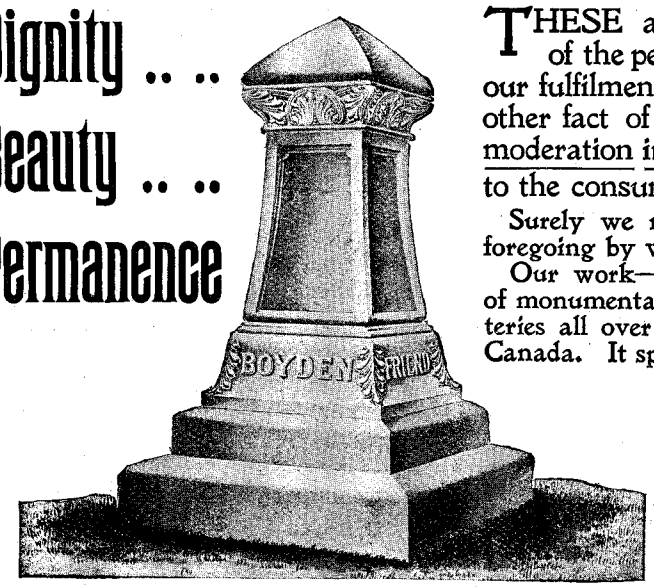

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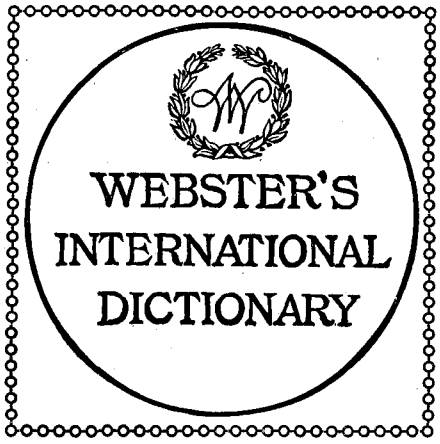

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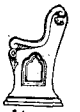

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The Forum

APRIL, 1898.

THE DANGEROUS DEMANDS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

THE Interstate Commerce Commission is making strenuous efforts to obtain radical changes in the Act to Regulate Commerce that will practically revolutionize the character of the Commission and invest it with attributes which, hitherto, Congress has always declined to confer.

The amendments which are proposed in the Commission's last report, and which are substantially embodied in Senate Bill 3354, introduced by Senator Cullom on January 22, 1898, are quite elaborate; but their vital features may be briefly summarized. By these amendments, the Commission is given the power to bring before it at all times, upon complaint or without complaint, any number of interstate carriers; to fix for them maximum rates for the transportation of freight and passengers; to fix minimum rates, when necessary to give effect to the Commission's ideas as to the comparative advantages which localities ought to enjoy; to establish through routes and to fix through rates and to prescribe the divisions thereof; to change classifications of freight; to prescribe the rules and regulations under which traffic shall move; and to determine what privileges and facilities the carrier shall afford. Every such order of the Commission may be as general, and may bind as many carriers, and relate to as many hundreds or thousands of rates, subjects, or details, as the Commission's wishes may dictate. It is difficult to imagine any sort of traffic regulation or control which these extensive powers would not embrace. Indeed, the proposition is nothing less in effect than to make the Interstate Commerce Commission the traffic

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manager for each of the hundreds of interstate railroads in the United States, and for each mile of its 180,000 miles of railroad.

A complete reversal of the method of enforcing the Commission's orders is also proposed. Instead of the present plan, whereby the courts enforce the orders of the Commission after a judicial determination that they are lawful, it is now proposed that all the orders of the Commission, made in the exercise of the sweeping powers partially enumerated above, shall be self-executing, that is, shall take effect simply by virtue of the Commission's decree, without consideration by any court; and, if anybody violates them, penalties will be imposed, just as fines are imposed for violating Acts of Congress. The only way to obtain any review of these self-executing orders will be for the *carrier*, within a very limited time, to take the matter into court; and, except in extraordinary cases, even the adoption of this course will not prevent the orders from being effective while the judicial review is in progress. The court, in reviewing the Commission's orders, is not to be allowed to take additional evidence, but must content itself with the record made up by the Commission. If not satisfied with that, the court can obtain additional evidence only by allowing the Commission to take and report it. No provision at all seems to be made for any appeal to the courts for relief by a person or a locality whose interests may be injuriously affected by the Commission's self-executing decrees.

In other words, the proposition is to give the Commission the power to regulate, in the most complete and extensive manner imaginable, every detail of interstate railroad traffic; all such regulations to take effect without any resort to judicial tribunals for their enforcement, and, ordinarily, in spite of the pendency of proceedings of review in court. Relief from the regulations can be obtained only when the carriers go into court and there show that the regulations are unlawful; whereas the intention of Congress in creating the Interstate Commerce Commission was simply to confer upon it such powers as would enable it to ascertain violations of the law, and to proceed in the courts for their correction. The purpose is to change the Commission from a mere auxiliary tribunal, assisting the courts in their lawful work, into a tribunal with vast original powers far greater than any court can exercise, and which can be made effective without any resort to the courts.

What reasons are given for this proposition to revolutionize the character of the Act to Regulate Commerce, and the character of the Commission? One reason that has been frequently urged, and much more artfully than honestly urged, has been that it is absolutely neces-

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sary to give these sweeping powers to the Commission in order to protect the public against the evils of pooling, in the event of Congress giving interstate carriers the right to pool their traffic. This argument proceeds on the erroneous theory that pooling contracts destroy the competition that regulates rates, and that, if such competition be destroyed, the regulation of rates must be given to the Commission. But the effective competition in the regulation of rates is not so much a competition between railroads, which would or could pool their traffic, as a competition with water-ways and between markets, which cannot be destroyed or controlled either by pooling contracts or otherwise. If railroads be permitted to pool their traffic, these kinds of competition will still remain, and will still effectually control rates.

The conclusive evidence, however, that this reason is not urged in good faith is the fact, that the Foraker Bill—which is the bill proposing to give the railroads the right to pool their traffic—gives the Commission the most complete power over the pooling contracts and the rates maintained under them. That bill authorizes the Commission to disapprove at the outset, or to annul at any time, any such contracts as the Commission may believe will lead to unreasonable rates or unlawful practices; and a contract so disapproved or annulled remains unlawful and non-enforceable pending any review by the courts of the Commission's action. Such a sweeping power as this ought certainly to be an ample protection against unreasonable rates under pooling contracts, even if pooling contracts would otherwise cause unreasonable rates. In addition to this, however, the Foraker Bill gives the Commission express and unequivocal authority to change any and all rates maintained under pooling contracts, when the Commission deems such rates unreasonable or illegal. Yet, the advocates of the Commission's demands are not content with these ample powers, nor will those advocates be satisfied with any powers to make rates which are restricted to the rates maintained under pooling contracts. What the Commission wants is the right to fix all rates on all interstate traffic, and, in addition, the right to make minimum rates, to establish through routes, to change classifications, to establish rules and regulations, to prescribe privileges and facilities, whether pooling affects those matters or not,—indeed, regardless of whether pooling contracts are authorized or not. Clearly, therefore, it is an imposition on the public to assert, in support of these all-embracing demands, the plea as to the dangers of pooling.

Another reason that has been urged from time to time is that corresponding powers exist in England. It is said that the English Railway

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Commission possesses the powers of a court, and that, therefore, the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission ought to be similarly effective without resort to the courts. But the English Commission is in fact a court. Three of its members are judges of the superior courts; and of the other two one must be experienced in railway matters. The Commission is declared to be a court of record. A still more valuable guarantee of impartiality in the English Commission is, that it has no duties to perform which would tend to impair its judicial character. Practically its sole business is to hear and determine complaints which are brought before it by proper complainants, and to determine what, if any, relief the law entitles the complainants to obtain. These facts insure a judicial temperament in the English Commission. But none of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission is a judge of the courts; they hold office for six years merely; none of them is required to be experienced in railway matters; and in fact none of them has ever had such experience.

Moreover, the Interstate Commerce Commission performs functions which are entirely foreign to any duties that could be properly exercised by any impartial court. It is a bureau for gathering railroad statistics and for the supervision of various details in railway management. It is given inquisitorial powers to detect violations of the law on the part of railroad companies, and may cause prosecutions to be instituted to punish violations of the law; and, besides all that, it may institute in its own name complaints before itself, and then proceed to hear and determine them. Thus, the Commission, which, in some respects, is a sort of superintendent of railway management, a detector of violations of the law, a prosecutor of the railways for such violations, and a party-complainant against railways, is also given the judicial power to hear and determine. It can, therefore, be detective, prosecutor, plaintiff, and court, relative to the same matter. It now asks that its determinations, made under such circumstances, shall take effect without being required to resort to any real judicial tribunal for consideration or enforcement. The English system certainly does not afford a precedent for making effective without judicial consideration the decrees of a tribunal charged with such incompatible functions.

Even more obviously does the English system fail to sustain the contention that the Commission should be given the power to prescribe all interstate rates; for the English Commission has nothing whatever to do with these important matters except that it may, under extremely careful restrictions, prescribe through rates. With this single excep-

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tion, all that vast power is retained by Parliament itself. Provision is made for consideration of rates and recommendations as to changes therein by the Board of Trade; but the Board is really one of the executive departments, its president being a member of the Cabinet and, in effect, the Minister of Trade and Commerce. These recommendations are transmitted to Parliament; and only after a bill has been passed by Parliament, confirming them, do they become binding upon the railways. If, therefore, the English system be followed, the Commission would have no power with respect to the general subject of making rates, which is the power it seems to desire above all others; many of its existing powers would be taken from it; and, before it could obtain the coveted authority to promulgate self-executing decrees, it would have to be thoroughly reorganized and reconstituted on a basis widely different from its present one.

The most persistently urged reason for the demands of the Commission is, that the courts have interpreted the law contrarily to the intention of Congress and the understanding of the public; that they have destroyed its efficacy; and that, therefore, these changes must be made in order to conform to what were originally thought to be the provisions of the law. This assumption is wholly false.

From the Act it is plain that the Commission must resort to the courts to enforce its recommendations, and that it cannot issue self-executing edicts. Not even the advocates of the Commission's demands will assert that Congress ever intended to adopt the latter radically different plan. It is equally plain that Congress never intended to confer the ratemaking power now demanded. On January 18, 1886, the Select Committee of the Senate, after a most elaborate investigation, submitted to the Senate a report of two hundred and sixteen printed pages with the bill which, with some amendments, finally became the law. In this report (p. 194) the Committee declared the fixing of rates by legislation impracticable, and added:—

"Those who have asked the adoption of this plan of regulation have suggested the establishing of rates by a commission; but it is questionable whether a commission or any similar body of men could successfully perform a work of such magnitude, involving, as it would, infinite labor and investigation, exact knowledge as to thousands of details, and the adjustment of a vast variety of conflicting interests."

In conclusion, in referring to the bill submitted, the Committee said (p. 215):—

"The provisions of the bill are based upon the theory that the paramount

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evil chargeable against the operation of the transportation system of the United States, as now conducted, is unjust discrimination between persons, places, commodities, or particular descriptions of traffic. The underlying purpose and aim of the measure is the prevention of these discriminations, both by declaring them unlawful and enforcing punishment and also by requiring the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to the rates, financial operations, and methods of management of the carriers."

Clearly the Committee, which prepared the bill after the most elaborate investigation and study, did not regard it as giving the Commission the power to make rates. The Congressional debates, also, wholly refute the Commission's assumption. Although the debates cover over two thousand pages, all that was said, that could be reasonably construed as bearing on the subject of making rates, covers less than thirty pages; and even that bears on the subject only incidentally. This very silence of Congress shows it had no idea that it was conferring upon the Commission the power to make rates, which would have been a provision far more important than any provision actually adopted in the Act. Moreover, Senator Cullom and Representative Reagan, who prepared and had in charge the Senate and House bills respectively, disclaimed any intention to provide for fixing rates; others stated the same thing; and, although many enumerated the advantages of the Commission, none claimed that it would have the power to fix rates. A competent authority, who has carefully read all the debates on the subject, and abstracted all portions relating to the ratemaking power, states his conclusions as follows:—

"I am convinced, from my reading of all the debates, that Congress had no idea that it was conferring upon the Commission the power to fix rates, and that no bill expressly conferring such power could have been passed."

As investigation dispels the claim that Congress intended to give extraordinary powers to the Commission such as it now claims, so a reading of the decisions of the United States courts, including the Supreme Court, ought to convince any unprejudiced mind that the courts, by their interpretation of the Act, have not in the slightest degree impaired its value, but that they have simply interpreted it according to its plain terms, and according to the intention of Congress as shown by the debates. Indeed, in the only important respects wherein the courts have disagreed with the Commission's present views as to the effect of the Act, the Commission, strange to say, originally took substantially the ground which the courts have now taken. For example, in the case of Thatcher *vs.* Delaware & Hudson Canal Company,[1] decided a

[1] Interstate Commerce Commission Reports 152 and 156.

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few months after the Commission was organized, it declined, for lack of evidence, to fix certain rates; saying,

> "It is, therefore, impossible to fix them in this case, even if the Commission had the power to make rates generally, which it has not. Its power in respect to rates is to determine whether those which the roads impose are, for any reason, in conflict with the statute."

Yet, when in the Chicago and Cincinnati Freight Bureau Case the Commission undertook to "make rates generally," by prescribing maximum rates on over two thousand articles of commerce from Chicago and Cincinnati to Knoxville, Chattanooga, Rome, Atlanta, Meridian, Birmingham, Anniston, and Selma,—whereby the rates not only from all points in the Northwest, but from all points in the East to all points in the South, would have been affected,—the Commission complained most bitterly and disrespectfully because the Supreme Court held that it had not the power to fix those rates, although the Supreme Court simply took the position which the Commission had itself at first taken.

While the advocates of the Commission's demands before Congress are strongly insisting that the Interstate Commerce Act, as it stands, is utterly worthless, and that the Commission can do nothing, even in the courts, to enforce the Act or protect the public, the Commission is vigorously contending in the courts, in a number of cases, that valuable provisions of the Act are being violated; and it calls on the courts to approve and enforce its findings to that effect. Indeed, in the last few weeks, Judge Severens, in the United States Circuit Court at Chattanooga, has upheld and enforced an order of the Commission designed to prevent what the Commission regarded as an undue preference of the city of Nashville over the city of Chattanooga. While, on the facts, the railroads did not believe that the preference was undue or unlawful, but considered that it was fully justified by the circumstances, and will, no doubt, appeal the case, yet the fact of the decision wholly disproves the unfounded claim that the Act to Regulate Commerce is worthless. On the contrary, it shows that whenever the courts are satisfied that, by a supposed improper adjustment of rates, any place or person is put to an undue disadvantage, they have the power—and will exercise it—to enforce compliance with the Act as it now stands.

The Commission also urges that it should be allowed to fix rates all over the country, because, it says, otherwise there is no adequate remedy for extortionate rates, and the only remedy now existing is a suit, after the rate has been paid, to recover the excess over a reason-

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able rate. With great elaboration it is pointed out that the expense and difficulty incident to such suits would deter parties from bringing them, and, moreover, that the consignor, or consignee, who would have the right to recover, is not the party who really stands the loss. These same considerations, however, have existed from the beginning, and were just as patent when Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act as they are to-day. Still they have never heretofore been deemed an argument for giving the Interstate Commerce Commission practically absolute control over the commerce of the country.

Moreover, the argument proceeds solely upon the absolutely false assumption that rates in general in this country are extortionate; whereas, in fact, they are admitted to be remarkably low and, generally, to have decreased rapidly in the past few years. If any rates are too high, such rates are out of line with the general adjustment, and, for that reason, are in conflict with the present law and can be readily corrected under it. Since rates in general are admittedly not extortionate; since, if any particular rates are too high, ample opportunity for correction now exists; and since all other reasons urged by the Commission for radical changes in the law are utterly groundless, the public now has ample protection, and there is not the slightest excuse for such sweeping legislation. The public has infinitely more protection for the really vital commercial interests involved than it could possibly have if the commercial destinies of the country were confided to the Commission, as they would be if the latter's demands were acceded to.

It is impossible to exaggerate the tremendous power which the Commission will wield if it obtain the amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act that it desires. Practically it will have the absolute power of determining what communities shall flourish and where trade and commerce shall be successfully conducted.

There exists a much closer community of interest between a railroad and the localities and industries upon it than is ordinarily realized in discussion of these matters. The only way a railroad can make money is to perform transportation service, and obtain the revenue therefor; but it cannot perform the transportation service unless there are passengers and property to be transported. Passengers and property will not be transported to or from a particular locality unless the state of business at that locality warrants the transportation. The greater the business, the greater the demand for transportation service, and consequently the greater the railroad's revenue. It is to the railroad's interest to develop as far as possible the productive enterprises of every

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locality upon its route. The greater this development, the more outbound traffic the railroad secures. The greater the demand for the section's products, the more prosperous its people and the more they consume; hence the greater the inbound traffic. The railroad is, therefore, united in interest with the localities along its line. Moreover, under the transportation conditions now existing in the United States, there is scarcely an article of commerce which in some section does not enjoy extremely low rates of transportation to the great markets of the country, by reason of water-ways or other considerations. The low rates enjoyed by an article from any one section in a great degree affect and control the rates on that article from every other section. A railroad traffic manager will not stand by and see some section not on his line of road build up a profitable monopoly in any article of commerce, when that article of commerce can be produced on his line. On the contrary, he will gladly coöperate with prospective producers on his line, to the end that the article may there be produced and profitably marketed. In this way the products of any section are brought into competition with the products of every other section in the markets of the country. Thus, the obvious interest of the railroad to develop such traffic is the best possible guarantee that every locality will have its interests protected, and that rates will be kept low enough to encourage all practicable development. It is also the best guarantee of a strong and healthy competition.

To give the Commission the powers demanded would deprive every locality of the opportunity, with the coöperation of the railroads, to develop new enterprises or maintain those already in operation, in order to compete with establishments on other railroads, except with the sanction of the Commission. In other words, the Commission would, throughout the United States, direct and distribute local prosperity in accordance with its views; which views have always been extremely unfavorable to the salutary policy of development in which the railroads, in their own interest, have always so actively coöperated with the localities along their lines.

In its last annual report the Commission refers to the case of Eau Claire Board of Trade *vs.* C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co. *et al.*, as an instance wherein it desires to have the power to fix a minimum rate so as to enforce its ideas of the relative advantages which localities should enjoy. It seems that Winona, La Crosse, and Eau Claire are rival lumber markets, and that the railroads extending westwardly from Winona and La Crosse, but not reaching Eau Claire, had, in the in-

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terest of Winona and La Crosse, and in their own interest, established such rates on lumber to the West as would encourage and develop the lumber trade at Winona and La Crosse. Eau Claire, which had the more favorable natural location, objected seriously to the favorable rates given to Winona and La Crosse. The Commission sustained the objection, and held that a railroad had no right to develop the territory on its line by so adjusting its rates as to enable the points on its line to get a fair share of business in competition with points off its line having a more favorable natural location; pronouncing such a principle as "radically unsound." The Commission's purpose, therefore, would be to give Eau Claire the full benefit of this natural advantage, even though it might drive Winona and La Crosse wholly out of the lumber trade, might practically destroy them, and might establish a virtual monopoly at Eau Claire.

The inevitable tendency of any such policy would be toward centralization, as the point having the greatest natural advantage in any industry would dominate that industry; for the Commission would not allow railroads from other points so to adjust their rates as to compensate natural disadvantages, in order to develop the same industry on their lines. The general sentiment is that the wider the dissemination of industry and capital, and the greater the consequent competition, the better it is for the public. Railroads have done much to encourage this salutary system, in striving to develop on their own lines industries which, in the absence of such encouragement, would probably be centralized elsewhere at some point possessing extraordinary natural advantages. The localities on every railroad have been given the opportunity to open up industries in competition with localities on other lines where there has been any reasonable ground to expect successful operation; and the results have been eminently satisfactory and beneficial to the public. It would be a backward step to assert the doctrine that only natural advantages must be viewed, and that other places must not be enabled, by favorable rates, to compete with the place having the greatest natural advantages. It would be a most dangerous step to confide to the Commission the delicate task of selecting the place regarded by it as having the greatest natural advantages, and of putting up rates to and from all other localities so as to give such place the full benefit to which the Commission might think it entitled.

This emphasizes the very great importance of this question to the localities and industries of the country. Are they willing to give up the effective means which they now enjoy of securing a position in the

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markets of the country, and to receive, in place thereof, whatever the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its wisdom, may choose to give them as its idea of their due proportion of the commerce of the country?

It is not contended that a railroad ought to be allowed to pick out one place on its line and encourage its development, at the expense of any other place on its line; and the present Act to Regulate Commerce would prohibit such favoritism. It is contended, however, that a railroad has the right to build up and develop the prosperity of the whole section of country through which it runs, and to put every section on its line on the most favorable terms possible in the markets of the country, and that, in its own interest, every railroad will, if allowed to do so, adopt that course. The powers demanded would make the Commission the supreme arbiter of the commerce of the country; whereas, at present, the Act to Regulate Commerce protects localities and industries from every act of partiality and favoritism, thereby induces reasonable rates, and at the same time affords the fullest opportunity for the enlightened coöperation of every railroad with the localities on its line, with the result of disseminating, in the widest possible manner, the benefits of industrial enterprise, and of increasing that competition which is the life of trade.

In the administration of the long-and-short-haul section in recent years, the Commission has evinced a strong disposition to restrict, without good reason, the markets of the country. It has endeavored to prevent railroads from making greater charges for shorter hauls than for longer ones, when the only result would be to force the railroads out of participation in the long-haul traffic, and thereby, without the slightest benefit in any direction, to deprive sections of the country of markets which they had theretofore enjoyed. For example, the railroads in the South transport coal from Alabama mines to points on the Mississippi River at rates considerably less than those to intermediate points, in order to meet the competition of Pennsylvania coal, brought down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in barges, which is the cheapest transportation known. The railroads could not reduce their local rates to the basis of these low rates to the Mississippi River; and, if compelled to charge no more to the intermediate points than to the Mississippi River, they would simply have to withdraw from the traffic to Mississippi River points. The result would be that the Alabama mines would be deprived of the opportunity to market their coal along the Mississippi River; the points on the Mississippi River would be deprived of a choice between Alabama coal and Pennsylvania coal;

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Pennsylvania coal would be given a virtual monopoly of the market at those points; points between the Mississippi River and the coal-mines would gain absolutely nothing; and the railroad would lose the little that might be made out of the traffic to Mississippi River points.

It certainly ought to be regarded as unwise to confer on a commission, dominated by such ideas, the unlimited power of decreeing in what channels commerce shall flow; for the result must be restriction of commerce, and interference with competition which now exists to the decided benefit of the public. The courts have declared unequivocally that the practice of charging less for longer than for shorter hauls, under the circumstances indicated, is not unlawful; and this is in strict accordance with the principle recently laid down by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Commission now characteristically insists, however, that the courts have destroyed the long-and-short-haul section, and asks Congress to repeal that section, and, instead, to authorize the Commission to prohibit any carrier from charging more for a short haul than for a long haul, whenever it may see fit; that is, to make a law to apply to one part of the country and not to another, or to one railroad and not to another. The Congress which passed the Interstate Commerce Act very reluctantly gave the Commission power to relieve the railroads from the operation of the long-and-short-haul section in special cases; but it would not for a moment have thought of giving to the Commission the power to make the law itself, to change that law at will, and to omit the law altogether at its pleasure, which is what the amendment now proposed amounts to. This serves as an additional illustration of the Commission's radical departure from the original ideas of Congress and of the unlimited powers which the Commission now so complacently demands.

The making of rates, to which the Commission aspires, is an extremely delicate and difficult task. A change in one rate may create a wide disturbance of other rates and of commercial conditions. Rates depend upon innumerable, ever-changing circumstances, as widely different as the various sections of the country. Every railroad employs men of marked ability and life-long training, whose sole duty it is to study these conditions as they arise and change, and to adjust rates in conformity with them. The Commission's proposition is to confer on five men, who have had no such training with respect to any railroad or any section, the power to make rates for every railroad and every section throughout a vast area embracing a railroad mileage of over 180,000 miles. It must be perfectly apparent that it will be a

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physical impossibility for them to use the power with that knowledge of all the infinite details existing throughout this great country which the importance and intricacy of the subject imperatively demand for its proper exercise.

Extremely interesting, in this connection, are some remarks of the Commission itself shortly after its organization. In discussing the impracticability of determining in advance when railroads should and should not charge more for a short than for a long haul, it said, speaking through Judge Cooley :—

> "The Commission would, in effect, be required to act as ratemakers for all the roads, and compelled to adjust the tariffs so as to meet the exigencies of business, while at the same time endeavoring to protect the relative rights and equities of rival carriers and rival localities. This in any considerable State would be an enormous task. In a country so large as ours, and with so vast a mileage of roads, it would be superhuman. A construction of the statute which should require its performance would render the due administration of the law altogether impracticable; and that fact tends strongly to show that such a construction could not have been intended." (*In re* L. &. N. Co., 1 Int. Com. Com. Rep. 56.)

The Commission now wishes to assume far greater duties than those it so aptly described as superhuman.

To meet this objection and others, the Commission insists that it does not propose to make rates in general, or in the first instance, but simply when, upon investigation, it finds a rate to be unreasonable, to prescribe a reasonable rate and to enforce the rate so fixed. No limit, however, is proposed, and none can be devised, upon the exercise of such a power; neither can there be any guarantee that the Commission will fully investigate each case. Up to this time, the Commission has had no such power; but several years ago it assumed to exercise it, and started out by fixing, after a most elaborate investigation, a rate on a single commodity between two specified points. A few years later, admittedly without thorough investigation, it materially reduced the rate upon several hundreds of articles from Cincinnati to Atlanta, and reduced that rate to a point slightly below what even the testimony of the only witness examined would have authorized. Somewhat later, it went still further, and reduced the rates on more than two thousand articles from Chicago and Cincinnati to eight cities in four Southern States; affecting the rate from all points North, East, and Northwest to all points in the South. Its course in the past, therefore, is an unerring indication that, if it should get the power it wants, it would exercise it on the broadest scale, and not merely in certain instances after full investigation.

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Of course, the same observations apply to its power to make changes in classifications, and to prescribe facilities, privileges, rules, and regulations. In other words, the Commission will have powers which it can and will exercise in a most sweeping manner; although by reason of the extent of the country, of the countless circumstances affecting rates, and of the constantly changing conditions, it will be a physical impossibility for it to exercise them otherwise than by guesswork.

The one thing seriously needed to improve the rate situation in this country is the enforcement of the law against unjust discrimination by secret concessions, rebates, and other devices. The Commission is charged with the power of enforcing these provisions; and it is made unlawful not only for the railroads to make unjust discriminations, but for shippers to induce or aid in them. Yet, one rarely hears of any attempt to punish the railroads, and never hears of any attempt to punish shippers, although the Commission itself announces that this species of illegality is wide-spread in many sections of the country. So long as rate-cutting is not stopped, large establishments, willing to violate the law, have it in their power to secure from railroads—which, in order to get business, are ready to assist in such violation—better rates than small establishments can get. The result is an unjust discrimination; building up one person and prejudicing another, and at the same time entailing a loss of revenue on the railroad,—all which would be prevented if the Commission would enforce the law, as it is its duty to do. I take it, the Commission would have the cheerful coöperation of the carriers in any practical propositions to strengthen the law so as to facilitate the prevention of these unlawful practices. The passage of a pooling law would, no doubt, aid in putting an end to rate-cutting; and if accompanied with ample power in the Commission over pooling contracts, and over the rates maintained under those contracts, there ought to be no possible objection, even on the part of those who imagine that such contracts, if unrestrained, would lead to unreasonable rates.

To give the Commission the ratemaking power, to declare its orders effective without resort to the courts, and to grant all the rest of its radical demands, will not, either singly or collectively, even tend to prevent rate-cutting. It cannot possibly be more unlawful or less easy to cut rates decreed by the most autocratic commission than it is now to cut the rates published by the carriers as required by law. So that the demands of the Commission, if granted, cannot possibly assist in correcting the only general or serious evil which now exists with respect to interstate rates of transportation. In the matter of inequalities

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or preferences in the published rates of carriers, the present law affords ample opportunity for redress, which the courts will promptly give when the existence of the wrong is established. The correction of these inequalities is a complete protection against unreasonable rates; for thereby any objectionable rates can be undoubtedly brought into line with the general adjustment of rates in this country, which are admitted to be remarkably low.

Therefore the Commission's radical demands will not correct the evil which requires correction; and all other evils are sufficiently guarded against by the Act as it stands. The far-reaching legislation begged for by the Commission is consequently unwarranted by actual conditions. It is unsupported by any of the reasons urged for it, such as the pretext of the danger from pooling, or the mistaken citation of England's example, or the false assumption that Congress ever intended to confer such powers, or the misrepresentation that the courts have deprived the Act of its effect or shorn the Commission of its usefulness. There is thus an utter failure to show any reasons or arguments in favor of such radical innovations. These considerations, coupled with the fact that compliance with such ambitious aims would make the Commission the absolute arbiter and distributor of commercial and industrial prosperity, with almost unlimited powers of detrimental interference with legitimate commercial enterprise in every locality,—now safely regulated by that great corrective, Competition,—will surely condemn the dangerous demands of the Commission, and result in their emphatic refusal.

MILTON H. SMITH.

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ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN WEST AFRICA.

FROM the earliest times Africa has attracted the interest of the historian, whetted the curiosity of the geographer, and challenged the attention of the statesman; yet only, as it long seemed, the more completely to defeat every effort to pierce the impenetrable, though always fascinating, mystery that surrounded this marvellous continent. It seemed everywhere given to man to touch the fringe of things African, but nowhere to get beyond that fringe. Though the very beginnings of history were on the banks of the Nile, yet the source of that river itself remained up to our own day covered with a veil so close as to have passed into a proverb. Though the Pyramids are the oldest known buildings in the world, their very origin and meaning, their plan and purpose, have yet to be explained; and the many successive generations of men who have stripped them of their outer casing and therewith have builded themselves towns and cities, have still left the main fabric untouched, unknown, and uncomprehended.

So has it been with Africa as a whole. Its Red Sea shores were apparently known to the ancient Egyptians two thousand years before the Christian era; its Mediterranean shores, early explored by the untiring Phœnicians, bore such cities as Alexandria, Cyrene, and Carthage; but neither Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, nor Roman has left a trace of ever having penetrated into the great interior of the continent. Nor did those Northern barbarian Vandals, who, in their turn, came and went; neither had any people, up to the beginning of this century, ever taken a hold on internal Africa, saving only those Arabian invaders who in the seventh century swept the Moslem arms across its northern and northeastern borders, merged themselves into the peoples they had subdued, taught them some order, introduced among them some commerce (including the commerce of slaves), firmly established the faith of Islam over broad bands of territory, and set up centres of civilization here and there from the Pillars of Hercules to the great Equatorial lakes. In these centres are found to this day the only organized active forces with which the European invader has to count: outside them is nothing but naked savagery and the most debasing forms of Paganism.

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The interior of Africa has remained as wholly unknown to the modern civilized world as it seems to have been to the ancients. In the fifteenth century, it is true, the Portuguese Prince Henry, "the Navigator," turned his attention to the west coast of Africa, with the resulting discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. Still it was to the coast alone that any attention was given, or that it seemed worth while to give any attention. For the coast furnished gold and slaves, and offered resting-places on the way to those East Indies which were then every seaman's goal. Besides, the coast was so uninviting in itself, both on account of its climate (Africa, be it remarked, is *par excellence* the tropical continent) and the almost entire absence of good harbors and navigable rivers giving easy access to the interior, that the seaman who had once had experience of its difficulties and dangers desired only to come to trade, or to refresh, and to go. Little by little the coast became better known, and at last completely so: but the interior of the continent still remained untouched; and it remained unexplored to our own day. Certainly Bruce, Mungo Park, and others made timid, inadequate, and ineffectual attempts at exploration from time to time; but so little success attended every effort that, up to fifty years ago, the greater part of the interior of Africa was still a blank, and the modern geographer, like Ptolemy, had to mark off millions of square miles with the succinct description "Libya Deserta." Nor was it till Mr. H. M. Stanley began to make public the results of his wonderful expeditions that astonished Europe began to realize that there was any interior to Africa at all; that what had been set down as African desert was in many parts a splendid country teeming with people; and that behind the low-lying and often pestiferous fourteen thousand miles of coast-line so deadly, so inhospitable, and so difficult of access, there lay twelve million square miles of healthy and often splendid upland plateau with a population estimated at a hundred and fifty millions. Here then, at the very gates of Europe, lay a country as large as three Europes, waiting, as it were, to be parcelled out and appropriated, and with a population half as large as that of Europe itself, waiting to be "civilized" and traded with.

The discovery came at the psychological moment. The ambitious states of Europe had long come to the conclusion that England owed all her riches and power to commerce and to colonies, and that if they too could, like her, establish the colonies, the commerce must follow, and therewith the riches and the power which had so long made them look longingly and greedily, yet fearfully, on the envied and hated

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island of the North Sea. Russia indeed had other plans; but Germany, with her poor and industrious people who had so long and so continuously contributed emigrants to the United States, held that the time had come when she should provide colonies of her own, to which such emigrants might be diverted. France, unable seriously to contemplate as an immediate purpose that war of revenge against Germany for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine, of which every Frenchman still dreams and which no Frenchman is ever allowed to forget, felt herself specially invited to the continent which lay so near to her, where she already possessed Algeria, and where she might occupy her people, and please her colonial party by easy and large territorial conquests which would not be disputed by the hated and dreaded Teuton, but only at most by a long-suffering if not effete and incapable England. Finally Belgium—whose capable King Leopold was indeed the first pioneer in the partition—came upon the scene with the largest ambitions, covering the very heart of Africa; and it was at Brussels that the first meeting was called of that conference of European nations, which met to begin and agree upon the partition of the great continent.

This was in September, 1876. The scramble for Africa had begun; and from that time till the Act of the Berlin Conference of February, 1885, which finally laid down the rules of the game, each of the countries interested was engaged in sending out missions, explorers, and expeditions to stake out its claims.

During the last ten years well-nigh the whole interior of Africa has been mapped out, colored, and appropriated—on paper. The measure of claim in each case has varied remarkably, and has even given rise to new kinds of limited sovereignty the nature of which it would have puzzled Grotius and Vattel to define. There is the full sovereignty, including the "high domain" of the publicists, when a state is in actual and complete possession of the territory; there is the more limited sovereignty, known as "suzerainty"; there is the sovereignty yet again more limited, called a "protectorate"; and, finally, there is the purely modern invention of a "sphere of influence." This last is the most shadowy of all, as it neither gives any sovereignty nor embodies nor defines any rights whatever, as between the state to which it is attributed and the territory over which it extends, but only marks out, as between one European state and another, the limits within which each state may establish a measure of sovereignty if it can, and outside which it undertakes to respect any sovereignty the others may succeed in establishing. The sphere of influence is the mere rough, tentative sketch, which may

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fail altogether, but which, if followed out, may become the subject successively of a protectorate, of a suzerainty, and of that full and complete sovereignty which is the finished picture. It is naturally in respect of the various unfinished stages that the disputes and differences have mainly arisen; and the especial danger lies in the fact that, in Africa, there is scarcely a single one of the new pictures that has reached the finished stage.

For our present purpose we may dismiss South Africa, which, as being farthest removed from the tropics, is perhaps the most promising part of the continent, as well as, in many respects, by far the most interesting. We may also dismiss German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, and the Congo Free State.

Here a word of description becomes necessary, in order to convey an idea of the conditions of the restricted, yet still tremendous, problems of West Africa with which we are now concerned. The region in which these problems have arisen is that shoulder of Africa the coast whereof bulges out westwardly into the Atlantic; running, roughly speaking, to the southward and westward from Gibraltar, then southward and eastward, and, finally, eastward along the fifth parallel of north latitude as far as Fernando Po. The whole region may be roughly taken to be included in a semicircle, starting from Tunis on the north, passing by Algiers, Cape Spartel, Cape Blanco, and Cape Verd, and ending at the Cameroons, not far from Fernando Po (which lies up in the very bight or corner of the Gulf of Guinea), and having as its diameter a line running along the tenth meridian of East longitude from Greenwich, which line, starting close to the coast of the Cameroons, runs north for more than thirty-two degrees of latitude, or some two thousand miles, and issues upon the Mediterranean hard by Tunis. In dealing with the matter in hand, it is necessary, as will be seen, to have regard to the whole of this semicircular region, and even so far outside it as to Lake Tchad, lying some five degrees of longitude to the east of the meridian which we have taken for our semi-diameter, and at about one-fourth its length from the Cameroons to Tunis.

Starting now along our semicircle westward from Tunis, we have, first, some eight hundred miles of coast of Tunis and Algeria, French possessions; next, about a thousand miles of the coast of Morocco, taking it to extend to Cape Juby; next, some six hundred miles occupied by Moorish tribes,—enjoying a certain independence, but over which Spain claims some shadowy kind of control,—beginning at its northern end at least at Cape Bojador, and ending at Cape Blanco, which lies

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about half-way round our semicircle. Here France comes in again, and claims, as part of her territory of Senegambia, the coast from Cape Blanco for nigh upon six hundred miles round and beyond Cape Verd, the westernmost point of Africa, lying in latitude 15° N., up to the British possession of the Gambia, which is a mere strip of territory lying on both banks of the river of that name, closed in at its end by French Senegambia. Next British Gambia lies a small and unimportant strip of coast territory belonging to Portugal; and beyond this again French Senegambia returns round the British and Portuguese territories—both of which it thus cuts off from the interior—to the coast-line, which it follows for some two hundred miles up to the frontier of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone, the second British possession, has a coast-line of over two hundred miles, and runs about as far inland, where, however, like the Gambia, it is cut off from the interior on its northern and northeastern frontiers by French Senegambia, and is closed upon its eastern side by the independent Republic of Liberia, with a coast-line of three hundred miles, ending at Cape Palmas. Here again the French come in along three hundred miles of coast, extending to the Gold Coast and Ashantee, which form the third strip of British territory, and the coast-line whereof is about three hundred and fifty miles. Then follows the German strip of Togoland; next, the French territory of Dahomey; and east of this we come, at Porto Novo, to the western boundary of the fourth stretch of British territory consisting of Lagos and the Niger Protectorate, which together extend over some five hundred miles of coast and end at the frontier of the German Cameroons at Rio del Rey, a little to the north of the island of Fernando Po.

This last is the territory in connection with which the major part and the most recently developed—though not all—of the difficulties with France have arisen; and it is at once the largest and the most important of all the four tracts which England claims on the coast of Guinea. It spreads out like a fan from the coast to the interior. Its frontier, marching with the Cameroons and exactly defined with Germany by an agreement made in November, 1893, runs from Rio del Rey northeastward for seven hundred miles past Yola on the Benue River to the southern shore of Lake Tchad in 14° East longitude. Its northern frontier, agreed upon in general terms with France, but not precisely determined, is the Say-Barruwa line, some thousand miles long, drawn—or rather to be drawn—from Say on the Niger, in latitude 13° North, to Barruwa, in latitude 14° North, on the northwestern shore of Lake Tchad. It is here to be observed that, although the convention with

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France of August 5, 1890, which embodied the agreement upon the Say-Barruwa line, provided that it should be "drawn in such manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto," it also provided that the line itself was to be "determined" by "commissioners to be appointed"; that, for some reason, no such commissioners have in fact been appointed during the period of nearly eight years that has elapsed since the convention was signed; and that, consequently, the line itself, though generally and loosely indicated, is still undetermined, and is, in fact, a matter of disagreement between French and English geographers, the former of whom make it curve to the south, while the latter make it curve to the north, as it approaches the Niger. Nevertheless, there is here an agreement, such as it is; and there is also an even better, because an exact and determined, frontier on the western side of the Lagos and Niger territories running north from Porto Novo up to the ninth parallel of latitude. But between the point, latitude 9° North, longitude 2° 18′ East, where that frontier ends, and Say, in latitude 13° North, where the Say-Barruwa line begins, there is no frontier fixed; and no agreement with France respecting it exists at all.

The claim, indeed, is made on behalf of England that, in order to mark off the English "hinterland" of Nigeria, at the very least the Porto Novo line must be prolonged to the north till it reaches Say, which lies nearly on the same meridian. This claim is fairly in accord with the somewhat lax and licentious, yet generally adopted, views that prevail with regard to "hinterland" in Africa, and is undoubtedly more defensible than any claim in virtue whereof the French can pretend to advance thus far toward the south-flowing Niger, either eastward from Senegambia or northeastward from Dahomey. In the absence of any agreement, however, there remains an undefined gap in the frontier for three hundred miles between the end of the Porto Novo line at the ninth parallel and the town of Say. It is through this gap that the French have steadily and persistently pushed in—mainly, if not entirely, from the northeastern corner of Dahomey—upon the English outposts; occupying town after town, and gradually squeezing the English to the eastward and southward, toward the Niger on the one side, and toward the sea on the other. Thus they have occupied, on the Niger itself, Ilo and Bussa (the latter being three hundred miles below Say, and on the tenth parallel of latitude), Kiama, to the southwest of Bussa, and Nikki, west of Kiama; and quite recently they have sought to occupy Borea, to the south of Nikki, in spite of the actual presence

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there of a British force. All these places are east of the line claimed by England, all of them are places in which treaties had been signed with the native chiefs by the British Niger Company before the French appeared upon the scene, and all of them are in territory over which a British protectorate was, so long ago as in 1887, and again in 1895, proclaimed and notified by the British to the French government without the latter thereupon either making any objection thereto or taking any steps, such as were contemplated in a case of the kind by the thirty-fourth article of the Act of the Berlin Conference of 1885, to "make good any claim of their own." All this indeed the French admit. They admit the hinterland theory in general; they admit the treaties; they do not dispute the protectorate: but they override all with a theory of "effectual occupation," such as they say they alone have carried and are carrying into effect; and so, while the words of amity are spoken and the methods of delay increased in Paris, the Niger Protectorate has seen its territories slowly, but surely, gnawed away, and itself thrust off from and down the lower reaches of the very river whence its name is derived.

A word here as to the Niger itself. It rises at the back of Sierra Leone in latitude 9° North, longitude 11° West, runs northeast past Segu, in latitude 13° North, to Timbuctoo in latitude 17° North, and then makes the great bend which carries it past Say in its long southern course to its many-mouthed delta and the Gulf of Guinea on the coast of British Nigeria. In the territory enclosed by the great northern bend of the river, from the parallel of Segu to that of Timbuctoo and thence to Say, the French claim a supremacy, which has never been disputed. But, on any ground that justifies the French in claiming supremacy in the bend of the middle Niger, England is equally justified in claiming that there should be left to her the lower Niger territory from Say to the sea; and this is what the French cannot be made to understand.

The region in respect of which the dispute has arisen is the great right-angled triangle of country formed by the Niger, from Say to the ninth parallel of latitude, by the ninth parallel itself, and by the line from that parallel to Say along the meridian of the latter town; the length of these lines being respectively some four hundred, two hundred and fifty, and three hundred miles. England claims the triangle as part of her hinterland, and, as such, subject to the authority of the Niger Company; first, by virtue of the general doctrine applied to lands at the back of coast possessions, the identical doctrine upon which France claims her own hinterlands at the back of Senegambia and Dahomey;

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secondly, by virtue of the actual treaty with France in 1890; thirdly, by virtue of numerous treaties made by the Niger Company with the chiefs in the triangle before the French appeared there; and, fourthly, by virtue of the protectorate declared by the British government in 1887 and 1891, notified to France, and not objected to by her. The French, on the other hand, claim the triangle on the ground that they were beforehand with the English in "effectual occupation" there; that they too have made treaties there as good as the English and even better, though subsequent, because made with stronger chiefs; and finally that they are actually there in preponderating strength, at various little stations. And they base their claim, equitably, largely on their right, under the Berlin Act, to a free navigation of the lower Niger, which they fear the English, if left there alone, would deny to them. Such denial has, however, never been made nor threatened nor suggested, and would be as contrary to British policy in the Niger as in the Thames; and the Niger navigation law has long been communicated to the French and, it must be assumed, has been accepted as adequate by them, inasmuch as they have never made the least objection to its provisions.

The matter, it must be remembered, is not a trifling one. Of all the unappropriated internal parts of Africa, the Niger region is held to be probably the most promising, and certainly the most thickly peopled; having, it is computed, seventy inhabitants to the square mile, while the continent in general has but ten, and in some parts but one, to the square mile. Between the River and Lake Tchad lies the great and populous kingdom of Sokoto, whereof the capital of the same name, lying near the Say-Barruwa line, is said to be a great entrepot for trade and centre of trade routes, and whose ruler styles himself "Umoru, King of the Mussulmans of the Soudan." On the other, the western, side of the river, below Say, is Borgu, lying to the east of the line from Porto Novo to Say. These are the countries with which it is expected that the great trade may in course of time arise which alone can make Nigeria prosperous and profitable; and if Nigeria is now to be shut off from them by a French barrier, as the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast are already shut off from the interior adjacent to them, then Nigeria may as well be abandoned altogether.

That the rights of both England and France in these interior regions, where actual and complete possession is not attempted, and where all that is claimed either on one side or the other is the vague protectorate or the shadowy sphere of influence—that these rights are uncertain and undefined, cannot be contested. But, as between England and

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France, it is none the less essential that there should be clearly laid down the limit where one set of rights ends and the other begins. What has been taking place is a haggling over that limit, in which process the pushing of France has at last exhausted the patience of England, who sees herself menaced with being elbowed out of the interior altogether. That she should indefinitely continue to submit to this process, and to acquiesce, as so long she has done, in the steady and ceaseless pushing of the limit farther and farther into the region she claims as her own, could hardly be expected. On the coast-line of Guinea, England has long been firmly established without question, in absolute sovereignty and complete possession of notable territories,—territories which she made great and long-continued efforts and sacrifices to gain and to keep, and in which she was firmly established long before the French were ever heard of in those parts. The first charter to trade to the Senegal and Gambia Rivers was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1588; and the English settlements on the Gambia and the Gold Coast date from 1618. The settlement of Sierra Leone dates from 1787; Lagos and the Niger territories, dating from 1861 and 1884 respectively, being the only recent settlements. The French, on the other hand, though they established a station at Assinee in 1701, were driven from it in three years by the Dutch, and did not return there till 1843, when they reëstablished a languishing station, which they barely maintained, but which, when they started in 1879 on their ambitious West African projects, they found of much use against the English, as they did the kingdom of Dahomey, a still more recent acquisition dating from their defeat of the King of Dahomey in 1893. Even Senegambia, the oldest of the French possessions on the coast, and the chief base of all French operations in these parts, was only finally confirmed to France by the treaties of 1815; St. Louis and Goree, its principal posts, having been then for several years in the hands of the English, who had captured them during the wars with Napoleon, and who at the Peace gave them back, together with other similar captures.

Seeing that England made such early, such continuous, and such successful efforts to acquire and retain territories on the coast, which has one of the worst climates in the world, and which to this day can boast scarcely any trade beyond that in palm-oil, rubber, and nuts, it was manifestly not to be expected that she should or could stand aside when the internal regions behind the coast came, as it were, first into view, and proved to be of fairly good climate and of fairly good prospects for a considerable trade. Whether indeed the prospects of that

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trade are so good as is represented, may still be doubted; and since the major part of the inhabitants are naked savages,—excepting only in those countries where is established the Mussulman power, and therewith the habit of wearing clothes,—no such trade can be expected as might be looked for in a corresponding region in such a country, for instance, as China, with its ancient civilization and well-to-do people.

There are some indications that the possibilities of internal trade have been altogether overestimated. Captain Mockler Ferryman, who, with Sir Claude Macdonald, ascended the Niger and the Benue in 1889, while he gives in his book, "Up the Niger," a gruesome account of the peoples on the coast,—whom he describes as cannibals, slaves, and fetish worshippers of the most loathsome kind,—seems also to be of opinion that the whole trade of the entire region of the interior is scarcely worth having. He says:—

"Modern writers on Central Africa, carried away by their theme, hold forth at length on the marvellous wealth locked up in the 'Dark Continent'—its mines, its forests, its ivory, and its magnificent crops. They proclaim it to be a very Eldorado,—the land whence Solomon obtained his riches—which in future, they tell us, is to yield a wealth second only to that of India. Yet, if we are to take the countries of West-Central Africa lying between the fifth parallel of south latitude and the fifteenth north, and search the writings of the explorers of them, we find little to lead us to believe that any extraordinary wealth exists in those lands. . . . Rubber, gum, gutta-percha, and a few medicinal seeds are the only exports at present known which can increase with the opening up of the interior. It is not probable that a trade in these natural products alone can pay; therefore, when ivory has failed (which it must do, and that at no very distant date), if minerals worth the working be not discovered, or if the low lands near the rivers and the table-lands of the interior be not cultivated, and do not yield forth fruit in abundance, then West-Central Africa from a commercial point of view must prove a failure. . . . As a field for colonization by Europeans, the interior of Africa is altogether out of the question."

Still the trade with the interior cannot but be better than that with the coast alone; and England, who during centuries has fought and toiled for the latter, could not tamely see herself elbowed, by newcomers, out of the former.

The aims of the French colonial party are, in truth, most ambitious and far-reaching. They dream of a French Empire extending over the whole of northern Africa, from the Mediterranean to the Congo, and from Senegambia to the Red Sea; and so high do their fantastic fancies run, that they seriously affect to look to the day when St. Louis on the Senegal, connected with Algeria by railway, shall become the one great entrepot and port for all the sea-borne produce, destined for

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Europe, of South America and the Pacific. These are the unbridled exaggerations of the enthusiasts; but there is solid ground for the belief that even practical statesmen in France have conceived and are even now attempting to carry out, plans scarcely less ambitious,—plans which aim at nothing less than the extension of French dominion from the southwestern limits of Algeria in a direct line of a thousand miles to Cape Blanco, and a similar extension from Senegambia eastward, by Timbuctoo and the northern and eastern shores of Lake Tchad, to join up with the French Congo, a vast region on the northern and western banks of the river bearing that name. The effect of this stupendous movement, were it to be carried out, would be to enclose between French territory and the sea, Morocco, upon which France has long been believed to have designs, and on the other side, to enclose similarly between French territory and the sea, the possessions of all other countries on the Guinea Coast.

The scheme is one well fitted to strike the French imagination; but it could not be carried out, could scarce indeed be attempted, without an intolerable strain upon the resources of France such as could hardly for long be endured. For it is to be remembered that, in all but a few cases, the so-called colonies of France are not profitable colonies, or indeed colonies at all, but only costly and unprofitable chains of military stations. Their plan and purpose is not commercial, but political; their end and object is less gain than glory; and their immediate use and importance lie in this rather than in aught else, viz., that they tend to amuse and satisfy the French people at home, who otherwise might become discontented or might even look too keenly toward that Rhine by which their lost provinces lie, but which it is a condition of the so-called Russian Alliance that they must not at present so much as think about. Nor could it well be different. With a stationary, if not diminishing, population—largely the effect of the Code Napoleon acting upon a thrifty, saving, calculating people—France has no spare sons to send out to form colonies and inhabit them. The Frenchmen in her colonies are not sturdy pioneers who intend to make their home in the country and whose fortunes are bound up with it, but mainly salaried officials and soldiers, together with a few sad, enforced exiles, whose one thought is regret for their dear Paris, and whose one ambition is to return as soon as may be to the unmatched delights of the Boulevard des Capucines. Such trade as there is is due to the artificial fostering of a severely exclusive tariff; and such navigation as exists is carried on by lines of vessels barely kept afloat by extravagant subsidies. Yet, how-

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ever disappointing the balance-sheet of the colony, however palpable its unprofitable character, however costly in men and money its maintenance, the belief is general in France that a great material result has been attained if only the nefarious foreigner and his poisonous merchandise can be kept out,—most especially the particularly poisonous merchandise of the particularly nefarious English. And even if there were no material gain, the moral gain is still believed to be immense, when the tricolor has been planted in some remote swamp lying across the road of those same English, who, but for that glorious flag, would certainly in a short time be making vast fortunes out of the country without so much as an official, a soldier, or a subsidy to help them.

With France, it is the government that comes first into a colony; the colonist and the trader last, if ever. With England, it is precisely the reverse. With her, it is always the trader and the colonist who come first; and when—always without, and generally against, the orders of their government—English individuals or companies have secured a footing in some new land, then, and then only, the government tardily steps in to make their lives and their trading the harder for them, and to reap the fruits of their pioneering labors. But, at any rate, in each of the stages of the colony, there is no exclusion, no barrier nor discriminating tariffs against the foreigner, but that equal freedom and equal treatment for all which is at once the most generous and the surest sign of a consciousness of ability in the English trader to hold his own on equal terms against the world. There is and has been no single instance of English attempt to occupy or to establish influence in any territory lying within or behind French possessions; there has been no attempt on the part of the English to interfere with the course of French ambitions in any part of the great country stretching across Central Africa from Senegambia to the Red Sea, and known as the Soudan: the aggressions and attempts at aggression have, one and all, come from the French.

So, again, there has never been an attempt by the English to exclude French trade from English territories or from territories claimed by England; whereas the French make severe exclusion of English trade the rule of every acre of land they occupy. "Wherever," wrote Lord Salisbury in his despatch of March 30, 1892, "in West Africa, Great Britain has undertaken the task of developing and civilizing the interior, French trade profits equally with that of this country; but the tendency of French arrangements with the natives is to obtain exclusive commercial privileges for French commerce."

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With such a state of mind on the one side and the other, and with such territories in question, it is no wonder that the Commission of Four, established in Paris by the treaty of 1890, should have sat up to now without succeeding in fixing the boundaries between France and England in the Niger regions. It was, however, hardly in the nature of things to be expected, that, while the negotiations were going on, the French military posts should have been gradually advanced toward and into the great triangle of territory which remains in dispute, and that, as the French advanced, the English of the Niger Company should have temporized, protested, submitted, and ultimately receded far within the limits of the territory they held themselves to be entitled to. Yet this is what has happened. The irritation felt at the encroachments of the French has indeed been great and growing; and both Manchester and Liverpool, with whom no British minister can trifle, have now and again spoken out in protest. But the government has continued to preach patience; and patience has been exercised. Nor would there, perhaps, ever have been a stand made had it not been for events in other parts of the world far more morally wounding and far more materially injurious than any that have occurred in West Africa.

In three countries widely removed from each other, France and England have recently come into a conflict which has in each case issued to the advantage of France, and under circumstances only too clearly suggesting not merely unfair and unfriendly treatment, but direct breaches of faith on the part of the French government. The case of Tunis was bad; the case of Siam was worse; but the last and worst case of all was that of Madagascar. As to this, it is only necessary to say that, in 1890, England made the great concession of recognizing a French protectorate over Madagascar on the express condition that England should have guaranteed to her all her treaty rights and immunities arising out of existing conventions with the then government of Madagascar, including most-favored-nation treatment and a maximum rate of Customs duties of 10 per cent; that in 1894 the French sent out a military expedition and took complete possession of the island; and that, besides treating British subjects with great severity, they forthwith proceeded wholly to repudiate the stipulations of 1890, and to levy duties on English commerce of such a nature as practically to exclude that commerce from the country altogether. Lord Salisbury, in a despatch dated August 4, 1896, but only published last December, protested against this action as "an evident violation of the rights which Great Britain has acquired," and as "a proceeding for

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which no countenance can be found in the practice of international law"; while in a further despatch of May 9, 1897, he renewed his protest and declared that "Her Majesty's Government must reserve all the rights and immunities of British subjects which may be affected." But there the matter stood and still stands. Lord Salisbury, having protested and reserved, did no more—not because he apparently held that no more should be done, but (if the suggestion made by Mr. Curzon in a debate on the subject be accepted) because he doubted whether Parliament would support him in case he proceeded to extremities with France. Nevertheless, when Parliament met last February, he reaffirmed the British grievances and repeated his own views thereon.

These incidents have undoubtedly had a considerable share in rendering Englishmen in general less disposed toward a yielding mood with regard to the French encroachments in the Niger region. It is felt that we have yielded too much in too many different directions already, that step, by step, we are being everywhere elbowed off and pushed out, and that it is now absolutely necessary to make a stand. Nor can there be much doubt that such a stand will now be made on the Niger. The man in the street has never quite rid himself either of his old hatred or his old contempt for the French. He believes that the French are a very dangerous people to run away from, that we have already run too far and too often, and that we must now turn and hold fast; while he still further believes that, if Lord Salisbury be, as some pretend, a weak man, Mr. Chamberlain, at all events, is a strong man, who may be followed with confidence; and he remarks that, while the failures in Siam, in Tunis, and in Madagascar were all failures of the Foreign Office, this affair of the Niger concerns the Colonial Office, which has no such failures in its recent record. Under such circumstances the man in the street will be found ready to support any steps that the government may think necessary for the maintenance of the English claims on the Niger, even if such steps should involve a war with France.

A war with France, however, would and must mean, not a war in West Africa only, but also a war in Europe; a war not on the coast of Guinea and the waters of the Niger, but also in the British Channel and the mouth of the Seine,—possibly even in the mouth of the Thames. And, however lightly or even jubilantly the man in the street may face such a prospect, the man out of the street—the man of statecraft and council—cannot but look to it with sorrow and sadness. "Il faut être bon Européen," said Talleyrand; and no good European could regard

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with equanimity the probable consequences of a serious conflict in which the two central nations of Europe might so damage each other as to materially impair if not to break down altogether the barrier which they alone afford against the secular pressure of the outer barbarians. If there be anything in the teachings of history, from the sack of Rome downward, England and France will yet want each other, and Europe will yet want both. A war between them would be a European misfortune and probably the opening of floodgates which even now are straining under the pressure put upon them. Nor would the event be so certain or decisive as it was in the last war, when England had not yet parted with the power—still retained, be it remarked, by the United States—of acting upon her enemy's trade at sea, which she retained until she agreed that the neutral flag should cover the cargo of the belligerent.

These considerations, and others—considerations, for instance, of kindly and neighborly feeling toward the always admirable and delightful, though always exasperating, people of France—must make all but the most thoughtless hope that a way will yet be found out of the difficulty. Nor should this be impossible. England has recently given up much to France; and it is but little that France is now asked to give up in return. The existing French government has perhaps, indeed, desired—may possibly still desire—to postpone a final decision involving concessions, and giving, therefore, a handle to the Opposition, till after the April general elections, which will, if made while it is still in office and in command of all those influences which act so potently in France, confirm it in power for another and longer period than it has yet enjoyed, though it is already the longest-lived administration known in France since 1870. It may, therefore, seek still further to postpone the decision which has already been postponed from month to month and from year to year since 1890. But the danger now lies in delay. Passions are becoming dangerously aroused; and the sense of injustice too long endured is increasing in intensity in England; while any moment may bring the news of an armed conflict on the Niger itself between French and English forces.

The time is fully ripe, therefore, for a settlement; and with frankness, fairness, and a conciliatory disposition, the end of the matter should now be reached without delay, and the serious dangers be disposed of which do now most certainly and most seriously menace the continuance of friendly and even of peaceable relations between the two countries.

THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE AND THE EAST.

THE political situation now existing in Asiatic countries may be fraught with consequences unprecedented in history. The act of Alexander II, by means of which forty-five million human beings were emancipated from serfdom, was undoubtedly far-reaching in its effects; but the questions pressing for solution to-day in the Far East, or, more correctly speaking, our Near West, are of still greater import, both as regards the magnitude of the area affected and the numbers whose welfare is involved.

It is a familiar saying, that "history repeats itself." The statement is, however, only partially true: it is true only as regards certain general features. The political situation of Europe in its bearing upon the Eastern Problem is without a precedent in modern times. The compact between Alexander I of Russia and Napoleon, the partition of Poland, the conquest and absorption of India, the occupation of Africa by mutual consent of the great Powers, and the attitude of these Powers in the recent Turco-Grecian war, were all phases of a movement which is now gradually approaching a climax.

The only approximate parallel to this movement may be found in the history of the Roman Republic at the zenith of its development. Rome was then mistress of the civilized world, whose kings and princes were either her actual subjects or, at least, subservient to her policy, just as Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and some other nations are dependent upon the decree of the great Powers to-day. The Republic ruled the civilized world until three soldier-statesmen became its masters. The first of these to attain power and fame was Crassus; Pompey, greater as a soldier, statesman, and orator, came next; and, last of all, appeared Cæsar, who had gained distinction first as a student, then as an orator, and, when he had attained middle life, as a still greater soldier and statesman. All three aspired to the dictatorship of the destinies of the world through supreme influence in the affairs of the Roman Republic. The last to acquire power was the craftiest of the three; and he succeeded in forming, with the others, what is known as the First Triumvirate. No one of the three was strong enough to grasp the supreme

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dictatorship so long as the other two were united. The tragic death of Crassus, however, left the dominion of the world in the hands of two rulers; and the question of supremacy between these two was at last decided on the field of Pharsala,—the same field on which was fought one of the most important battles of the Turco-Grecian war last year. Pompey was beaten; and Cæsar remained absolute master of the Republic—still so called—until he met his tragic death before the statue of Pompey in the Senate.

A brief and bloody war followed between the patriots, bent on restoring the actual Republic, and the avengers of the fallen Cæsar. The patriots were defeated, and their leaders killed, at the battle of Philippi, where the cause of the Republic received its death-blow; and a second triumvirate was formed by the victors, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius. This triumvirate, also, was soon dissolved by the death of one of its members—Lepidus. Again the civilized world was ruled by the Roman Republic, and the Roman Republic by two men (one now the husband of the other's sister), both ambitious for supreme mastery. By means of that wife and sister, the struggle between them was averted for more than a dozen years; but it came at last, and at Actium Antony became a fugitive to Egypt, as Pompey had been before him, and there, too, like Pompey, he paid the penalty of his ambition with his life. Octavius was now master of the world, as his uncle had been. He assumed the title of Emperor, a title conveying all the attributes of absolute personal government. His rule was long and peaceful; and at his death the term "Cæsar" implied absolutism, just as it does to-day in its modernized form of "Czar" or "Kaiser."

Then, as now, commerce, foreign and domestic, was the ruling cause of dominion. The cities of the Roman Empire were connected with each other and with the capital by public highways,—lines of commerce and communication, which, centring at the Forum at Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and terminated only at the frontiers of the Empire. Mountains were perforated and the broadest and most rapid streams spanned by viaducts. So solid was the construction of these roads that many of them still exist. Throughout the entire Empire posts of communication were established. At distances of from five to six miles along the Roman roads relays were stationed, by means of which communication was easy; enabling detachments to be sent one hundred miles a day. While the primary object was to facilitate marches of the legions, these roads were also utilized for commercial purposes.

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Maritime communication also was thoroughly organized. An artificial port was constructed at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the capital, from which a favorable breeze would carry a vessel in seven days to the Pillars of Hercules, and in nine or ten days to Egypt. A vast and profitable commerce grew up with Egypt and Asia. Many of the flowers, herbs, and fruits that now grow so abundantly in Europe were introduced at that time from the far-distant East. The cultivation of flax was transferred from Egypt to the Roman provinces, and enriched the whole country; and the use of artificial grasses, originating in Media or the East, became familiar to the farmers of Italy and the provinces. The assured supply of wholesome and plentiful food resulted in an increased number of flocks and herds; while great attention was given to mining and fisheries,—pursuits which furnished employment to thousands, and greatly contributed to the wealth of the Empire.

Many remote countries of the Ancient World were ransacked, to cater to the pomp and refinement of Rome. Every year, at a certain season, a fleet of more than a hundred vessels sailed from a port of Egypt on the Red Sea to take advantage of the periodical monsoons, which enabled them to traverse the ocean in about forty days to Ceylon and the coast of Asia. The fleet usually returned to Egypt during December or January; and as soon as its rich cargo had been unloaded it was transported on the backs of camels to the Nile, and down that river to Alexandria, whence it was shipped to the capital of the Empire. By means of this Oriental traffic, the Roman homes were supplied with silks, precious stones, ornaments, etc.; and the labor and risk of the voyage were rewarded with enormous profits. Such was the commercial influence exerted by a government established by the triumvirates, and controlled by them and their successors.

The Roman Republic—now such in name only—controlled the civilized world; commanding its lines of communication, and its commerce. For hundreds of years, the supremacy of the Cæsars remained unquestioned; and the wealth of the world was poured into Rome, the capital of the Cæsarian Empire. During this period there were kings and princes innumerable; but they all acknowledged the sovereignty of the Cæsar of Rome, and paid tribute to him. Never before or since, until the present century, were commerce and industry, science and art developed to so high a degree as at that time. Moreover, Rome was mistress of the seas; and it is a noteworthy fact that maritime supremacy has usually gone hand in hand with political

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ascendency, as the history of Rome, Holland, Spain, and England will attest.

What is the prospect to-day? The two young Cæsars, one controlling one hundred and twenty-seven millions of his own people, the other supported by the Triple Alliance, together exert a mighty influence over the nations of Europe; and these rulers are practically masters of the situation throughout at least two-thirds of the civilized world. A third nation, the head of which is related by the closest ties with those already mentioned, practically controls another third of the globe,—omitting, of course, in both cases the continent of America. Why may we not look upon these three nations in the light of a third triumvirate? Is the future fraught with harmony or hostility, peace or war? Together these monarchs would be masters of the destinies of the world, commercial and otherwise. The parallel, if not complete, is in many respects strikingly close. It is true that gunpowder and electricity, the general use of steam-power, and other inventions of genius have rendered the methods of warfare entirely different from those of two thousand years ago; but human nature and man's ambition remain the same. The Kaiser of Germany and the Czar of Russia to-day are vastly better equipped to control the destinies of the rest of the world than was the Cæsar of two thousand years ago.

Imposing as was the commerce of that day by ship and caravan, how insignificant does it become when compared with our present systems of transportation and intercommunication! What was the speed of those relays when compared with that of the giants of the rail, or with the rapid communication by means of telegraph and telephone? Our ocean-steamships ignore trade-winds, and bid defiance to those former elements of terror, the tornado and the hurricane. Freighted with human life and the products of the farm, the factory, and the mine, they plough the seas of every zone; travelling with the greatest economy of expenditure, and departing from and arriving at their various destinations with the strictest regularity. One of these leviathans of the deep, guided by electricity and propelled by steam-power, could transport the whole annual tonnage of the ancient flotilla.

At no previous period of the world's history have there been so many men engaged in military and naval preparations as to-day; nor has there ever existed a body of men so well clad, equipped, and armed, so thoroughly schooled, disciplined, and prepared for war. There are now on the continent of Europe nearly four million men whose lives are devoted to military preparations. At least one hundred thousand

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of these are employing all the modern appliances of machinery, steam-power, and electricity in the construction of the latest military implements; ranging from the enormous armor-piercing, high-power cannon which throw a distance of twelve miles a projectile weighing 2,000 pounds, capable of puncturing twenty inches of solid steel, down to the rifle of smallest calibre, throwing a bullet with such energy as to penetrate six feet of solid wood.

Why all this preparation, if not for the dominion of the world and the control of its commerce? What was the object of the famous Triple Alliance if not the control of the political affairs of Europe; and what would be the action or influence of this Alliance, should one of its members become involved in some question of great magnitude? This Alliance was never more powerful than at the present time; for the last Turco-Grecian war has resulted in making Turkey, with her million of hardy troops, a strong ally of Germany and the Kaiser.

It is idle to believe that these vast armies and navies, each of which has cost from one hundred to five hundred million dollars, are to remain permanently inactive. Is it to be supposed (however sincerely we may wish it) that Russia will maintain in idleness twenty-five battleships, thirteen cruisers, twenty-three armored vessels, and two hundred and four smaller craft of war? Or that Great Britain will so maintain sixty-six battleships, one hundred and two cruisers, sixty-seven armored vessels, and two hundred and seventy-eight smaller craft, besides an enormous merchant marine, built with a view to the exigencies of war? Great Britain to-day owns one-half the shipping of the world; and within forty-eight hours a great part of this could be utilized for purposes of war.

There are two ways of influencing a people or a country commercially. One is by methods of mutual intercourse: the other is by the dominion of territory. Influence is exerted to a much greater degree where commercial relations are supported by the absolute political and military control of one country over another. Commercial, military, or political conquests are, however, rarely attempted where the countries or people to be controlled are either impoverished or physically strong. The temptation to avarice and ambition is far greater where the people destined to subjugation are both rich and powerless. The condition of China to-day may serve as a proof of this statement. This vast empire, endowed with greater natural resources than India or Africa and possessing a greater population than either,—yet physically weak and financially bankrupt,—was conquered and placed under

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an enormous indemnity by a nation one-twelfth its size, in a brief war which involved a loss to the victor of but 644 killed.

Here is a tempting field for the ambitious, both in a political and a commercial sense. And this field will be thoroughly explored with one of two results: (1) A combination of the great Powers of Europe, resulting in a division of the Chinese Empire—the strongest seizing the lion's share; or (2) a disagreement—much to be desired—among the Powers as to this division, in which case the Celestial Kingdom will be allowed to work out its own salvation. In the latter event, the Empire, stimulated to greater efforts, may eventually reach a high standard of civilization and development.

So far as the effects of the situation upon the people of Europe are concerned, it may be said that the more the governments can extend their dominion and control, the greater will be their commercial facilities; and these facilities again will result in a greater revenue and an increased demand upon the home markets for goods of every description. But to maintain such influence and power, the statecraft, patriotism, strength, and resources of the nation must at times be taxed to their utmost limit. Great Britain has spent about $500,000,000 upon her present navy; and she is still increasing her service in order to maintain her supremacy. The present Emperor of Germany has for years appealed to his government to add to the naval armament; and recent reports show that $200,000,000 has been granted for this purpose. The little kingdom of Japan, which, from a comparatively insignificant position among the nations, has recently risen to great prominence, has provided for additions to her navy which, when completed, will place it third among the navies of the world.

We are fortunate in being isolated from other countries. We are blessed with a virgin soil and great natural resources. At the same time, however, there are questions of vast importance which will require the attention of our ablest statesmen, in order that the prosperity and enterprise of the country may be preserved, and the comfort and welfare of its millions of toilers guarded. For this reason, it will be necessary to build up our commerce wherever it has declined, so that we may successfully compete in the markets of the world. During the last thirty years our people have spread a steel network over our great Western empire. The hardy soldiers, pioneers, miners, and home-builders have transformed the wild prairies and mountain-wastes of the great West into civilized, prosperous, and progressive communities and States. Yet, while this transformation has been going on, other countries have

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been making progress, which may in time rival that of our own country. Great changes have been made in India, Egypt, South America, Australia, and Africa, as well as in the vast region of Siberia; and we should not be unmindful of these changes, as they may affect our own interests and commercial welfare in the future. The events now transpiring simultaneously in Europe and the Far East are very ominous. The trade of China, if not her existence as an independent nation, is involved. Whether the territorial dismemberment of the Empire is contemplated time alone will determine. As regards the economic phase of the struggle, however, our country cannot be a disinterested spectator. What active form our interest shall take, is a problem which must be solved by our statesmen.

While we view with great interest and some concern the position of the great Powers in their relations to the question to be solved in the Far East, it is impossible to foretell what movements will be made in the near future upon the world's chess-board,—whether there shall be a concert of action, or whether rivalry, jealousy, avarice, and ambition shall involve the principal nations in the most serious war of modern times. As important events are following each other with such rapidity, it cannot be long before we shall be able to judge of the extent to which our own political and commercial interests, and those of our neighbors along the line of the republics of South America, will be affected.

NELSON A. MILES.

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CENTRAL AMERICA: ITS RESOURCES AND COMMERCE.

THE chief reason for the failure of the Central American republics to keep pace with the progress of the rest of the world lies in the ambition and avarice of their political leaders. Misgovernment is the great obstacle to their development and prosperity; and it obstructs, more or less, the advancement of all the other Latin American states. There is no lack of patriotism; but, in some of the countries, the practice of seeking pecuniary profit from the exercise of political power has become almost habitual. The progress in internal improvements, in industry, commerce, education, and wealth, that a nation may make under a liberal, intelligent, and honest government, finds a striking example in Mexico, where the finances have been managed with the strictest integrity since Gen. Diaz has been President. The fact is also illustrated by the lively "spurts" in civilization which have been made by some of the other countries of Latin America where the people have had peace, freedom from excessive taxation, and an assurance that the public moneys were properly expended for the general welfare. The prosperity of Costa Rica to-day indicates what the conditions might be if such blessings were permanent throughout the hemisphere. But a lust for power and riches has possessed the rulers of the Spanish colonies in America ever since they were discovered; and it still exists, in a greater or less degree, in the tropical countries.

Public opinion in the Latin states is tolerant toward official peculation: perhaps this is due to habit. It is too often the case in Central America for a new president, when he first comes into power, to invest in New York, London, or Paris, as soon as possible, a sum sufficient to keep himself and his family in luxury for the rest of their lives. When that is accomplished, his next effort is to provide for his reëlection by the ordinary means known to politicians in those countries, which involve liberal allowances and sinecures for his supporters, the appointment of unnecessary officials, unwarranted liberality in granting contracts and concessions, and the maintenance of an army to preserve order and protect the palace. Though such efforts, when directed by a brave and skilful man, usually prove successful, rivals are apt to spring up;

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and factions and feuds are numerous. Whenever a revolution occurs, it means that some president is endeavoring to perpetuate his authority against someone who desires to succeed him, or that some ambitious statesman is so eager for political promotion that he cannot wait for an election. If let alone, the people never rebel. They are patient, patriotic, loyal, and long-suffering; and, while their partisanship finds expression in fiercer emotions than are often displayed in the political contests of North America, they will submit to almost any kind of government until their indignation is aroused by some unusual act.

This peculiarity of the Central American republics keeps them poor. It prevents the development of their natural resources, the construction of internal improvements, and the establishment of mechanical industries. It frightens capital from making investments, and keeps immigrants away. There is practically no immigration. Money raised by taxation or by the sale of bonds for educational purposes or public works is too often used to pay an army and to buy ammunition for the suppression of a revolution. In one country four loans have been made for one and the same purpose during the last twenty years; and every dollar has been diverted. The roads are neglected, schools and public institutions are unsupported, and citizens who are fortunate enough to have a surplus invest it abroad, because they dare not engage in enterprises that may be interrupted by political disturbances.

GUATEMALA.

The Guatemaltecos, as the people of the peasant caste in the Republic of Guatemala are called, are descendants of the aborigines who occupied the country when the Spaniards invaded it. They are bright, witty, and cheerful; and three hundred and fifty years of oppression have not deprived them of a happy-go-lucky disposition and a love of fun. Of all the native races of America they probably have the highest degree of humor and the most melodious songs. A form of peonage still exists in the Central American countries; and the law requires that a man who owes money must work out the debt if the creditor insists upon it. Even death doth not release the debt; for the obligation rests upon his children until the money is paid. Thus the *haciendados*, or planters, who are of Spanish origin, hold their laborers with as strong a grip as was possible in the days when slavery was lawful.

But the peons are contented, and seldom make an effort to escape from bondage. Their masters live at the capital or in Paris or in New York; occasionally visiting their farms, which are committed to the

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care of overseers. The peons come and go at will. They are of a restless disposition. They are sometimes in the city, sometimes in distant parts of the country, and often for a year or two in the army. But wherever the peon goes, and however long he remains away, the *hacienda* upon which he was born is his home, and the owner is always acknowledged as his master. Occasionally some peon with a brilliant intellect, strong character, and far-reaching ambition breaks through the restrictions that surround him, and acquires wealth, learning, and power.

There is but little independent farming among the common people, although each family has a garden-plot, on which the women raise vegetables for market. There are lying idle in Guatemala millions of acres of excellent soil that might be bought for a song. But it is not customary for the laboring classes to own their homes. They are contented to remain as their fathers and grandfathers were; contributing to the prosperity of the grandees into whose pockets the profits of their labors go. When, twenty years ago, Gen. Barrios established free schools and made education compulsory, the peasants rebelled at the innovation. But Barrios demonstrated the advantages of education by imposing a tax upon every child that did not attend school. If the parents would not pay it, his soldiers seized what little property could be found at their homes; so that they were soon forced to submit. An order requiring the people to wear clothing was resisted with the same stubbornness. Guatemala has a warm climate; and the peons—women as well as men—were accustomed to go almost naked, except on holidays, when they put on their gay national costume. Barrios compelled the men to wear shirts and cotton trousers, and the women, "guipils" and skirts. At first they refused to do so; but the police were ordered to arrest and imprison every man and woman who appeared on the streets in a condition that was inconsistent with modern ideas of propriety. The guipil is a chemise or tunic of white cotton, made like a *poncho*, with an opening large enough to go over the head. The ends are tucked under skirts that are wound tightly around the hips and secured at the waist with a girdle. They are artistically embroidered in bright colors, and make a costume that is gay and picturesque.

The men, who are small and muscular, have dark skins like mulattoes, and bright, intelligent faces. They are naturally gentle, deferential, generous, honest, and obliging, and seldom quarrel except when they happen to drink too much of the native brandy, called *aguardiente*. As a rule, however, they are temperate, industrious, and obe-

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dient. The women are pretty, graceful, and coquettish. They have transparent olive complexions, abundant black hair,—which is worn in neat braids,—delicate features, lustrous black eyes that beam with intelligence and humor, small hands and feet, and slight figures. The women work in the fields with the men; for they have few household duties to detain them, and come to market every morning, bearing upon their heads large baskets filled with vegetables and delicious fruits. The mothers carry their babies in netted slings upon their backs; and the little ones contemplate this wonderful world with as much curiosity and even greater contentment than the children of luxury who lie in cradles of down and lace.

The natives of Guatemala are fond of amusements, music, and dancing, and their songs are gleeful. They have none of the melancholy reticence of their neighbors across the Mexican line, although they are superstitious and religiously inclined.

The middle or mercantile classes consist mostly of foreigners, many of whom have intermarried with Spaniards. The planters, politicians, and professional men are generally of pure Spanish blood and aristocratic lineage, highly educated, of refined manners, attractive personnel, and hospitable disposition, and have luxurious homes. They are intensely patriotic, and exhibit a pride of race and country which cannot be appreciated by the more selfish and less sentimental people of the colder zones. In many respects they resemble the planter aristocracy of our Southern States before the War, whose happiness and prosperity depended upon cotton as those of Guatemala are dependent upon coffee. If the crop is large and prices are high, everybody is rich, and enjoys his money to the utmost: if the crop is small and prices are low, everybody is poor. As a rule, the rich people are improvident, and do not exemplify the thrift, economy, and business sagacity of the European races. In politics they are such partisans, and so eager for the success of their leaders, that a defeat at the ballot-box is too often followed by an appeal to arms. Officials who have once enjoyed power are not apt to surrender it peacefully.

Guatemala is further advanced in modern improvements than any of the other Central American states. This is due largely to the progressive ideas of the late Justo Rufino Barrios, who was alternately dictator and president for twelve years until, in 1886, he was shot from an ambush while leading an army to coerce Salvador into a confederation. Although Barrios would not be considered an ideal magistrate for an enlightened republic; while his policy was despotic, and there was, so to

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speak, only one man in Guatemala as long as he was president; while he failed to observe the conventional distinction between public and private property, and accumulated a fortune of several millions during his presidency,—which he invested in New York and Paris for the benefit of his family,—he had high aspirations for the welfare of his people. Under his administration the country made considerable advance. Until the history of Central America comes to be written years hence, when the mind can reflect calmly and impartially upon his acts and motives, when public benefits can be accurately measured with individual errors without prejudice, the true character of Gen. Barrios will not be understood nor appreciated even by his own people. Ten more years of the progress that Guatemala made under his leadership would have placed her upon a par with several European states.

Since Barrios died, the country has made progress under the impetus he gave to it; but the progress has not been rapid. The public works he planned have been only partially carried out; and some of them have been abandoned. The railway across the Republic, which has been under construction for many years,—and is absolutely necessary to its material development and as a channel for trade to the northern coast,—has of late, grown shorter instead of longer, although enough money has been raised for this single enterprise to provide a transportation system sufficient for the whole country. At present, 90 per cent of the commerce is on the Pacific Coast; and passengers from Guatemala to New Orleans or New York must go by way of the Isthmus of Panama or San Francisco. The mileage of the private railways—which are owned by Mr. C. P. Huntington, of New York, and his associates—has been extended considerably of late years, to furnish outlets for the coffee crop on the Pacific slope of the country. But, until the long-promised public works are completed, the country will not realize the wealth and prosperity to which it is entitled. Most of the revenue goes to the support of the army, which has been required to protect and defend the president in power against his rivals; for that is of the first importance.

The late President Reina Barrios, who was assassinated only a short time ago, was a nephew of the great Barrios, and a type of the best class of Guatemaltecos. He had marked ability, was educated in San Francisco and at a German university, married a young lady from New Orleans, and was credited with a higher degree of integrity than most of his predecessors and with a genuine ambition to promote the development and prosperity of his country. But all these advantages did not

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enable him to overcome the hereditary tendency; and he fell a victim to his love of power. An attempt to prolong his administration beyond the constitutional period provoked a revolution, which he suppressed with great difficulty; and a servant of a merchant who had been executed without process of law found an opportunity for swift and fatal revenge. At the time of this writing, the excitement that attended the episode has not fully subsided: but the lawful successor of the late president has been permitted to assume power; and he is a man of excellent abilities and patriotic motives.

The resources of Guatemala are varied and abundant. Coffee is the chief staple; and the berry is as good as the best the world provides. Corn and beans are the chief food of the people. Sugar, tobacco, and other tropical plants can be raised, to an unlimited extent, on the hot lands along the coast; while wheat and other cereals yield rich harvests in the higher and more temperate districts of the interior. The revocation by the United States of the reciprocity treaties made under the Harrison Administration with several of the Latin-American republics was a serious blow to Guatemala; for her government and people had reason to suppose that we were acting in good faith, and desired a free exchange of natural products with that country. Upon this assumption, large sums of money were invested in the production of sugar, for which the United States furnished the only market. But, without notice, or the observance of the usual diplomatic formalities, the arrangement was revoked by the enactment of the Wilson–Gorman Tariff Law; and the plantations and sugar-mills of Guatemala have since lain idle. While the policy of the United States toward its less populous neighbors has doubtless been inspired by friendly motives, these neighbors have learned, through a somewhat rough experience, that when our interests conflict with theirs we do not consider the consequences.

Guatemala might easily sustain ten times its present population. The soil is rich and easily cultivated; and, unlike the other Central American republics, there is plenty of labor. Some parts of the country are quite thickly populated; but the others are covered with dense forests and a variety of timber, which might be easily made marketable if means of transportation were provided. But, although Guatemala is much further advanced than the rest of Central America, her railway system does not exceed two hundred and fifty miles; there is no internal navigation; and the wagon-roads are in a deplorable condition. The mineral wealth of the country is supposed to be large; but it is only slightly developed. The mines are inaccessible, and, in

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the absence of modern machinery, which at present cannot be conveyed to them, cannot be worked with profit. The government offers generous inducements to immigrants. The land laws are liberal; and efforts have been made from time to time to secure the establishment of colonies and the preëmption of public lands by private settlers. But all the accessible area is at present occupied; and no foreigner can expect to prosper in Guatemala unless he has abundant capital which will enable him to purchase at high prices plantations already developed. If peace could be assured, if railways and wagon-roads could be extended into the interior,—so that the timber regions, the mineral deposits, and the wild agricultural lands could be reached as conveniently as the new portions of our own country,—Guatemala would offer great advantages to the immigrant, and would enjoy a rapid development. But railway communication with the northern coast is absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the country; and political peace is the first requisite.

The most profitable industry is coffee-growing, although it would undoubtedly contribute to the prosperity of the country if the crops were more diversified. There is always a good market for coffee, however; and the Guatemala berry brings the best prices. The volume of the crops in Brazil and Java determines the quotations in London; and the profits of the Central American planter are larger or less accordingly. The best coffee lands lie upon the southern slope of the mountains from eight hundred to twenty-five hundred feet above the sea.

After clearing the ground, young shoots of nine months' growth, about fifteen or eighteen inches high, raised in nurseries, are set in rows eight to ten feet apart; and the quick-growing banana plants are placed between them to shield the delicate trees from the sun. In the lower altitudes it is customary to plant forest trees to furnish a permanent shade. The grove begins to bear when three years old. Three years later the trees reach maturity; and thenceforth for a quarter of a century they will yield full crops annually if properly cultivated. Comparatively little labor is required. The ground must be ploughed, so that a crust of clay will not form upon the surface and carry off the moisture; the weeds must be kept down, because they extract the strength from the soil; and the trees must be pruned each year. But all this labor is not so great as that required in the ordinary peach orchard or orange grove of California.

Each tree at maturity will yield about two pounds of berries. Computing six hundred and fifty trees to the acre, the crop would be thirteen hundred pounds. The cost of cultivation and the expense of deliver-

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ing the crop at the nearest market will average five cents a pound. The export price varies from ten to twenty-five cents per pound, with an average of twenty cents, which, under ordinary circumstances, would leave a profit of at least two hundred dollars per acre. The original cost of a plantation will average twenty-five cents to the tree, so that two hundred dollars to the acre is a most liberal estimate; but the capital is idle for fully four years, until the trees have commenced to bear. In favorable localities, however, the planters reimburse themselves for this outlay by the sale of bananas, which mature in four months after the shoot is placed in the ground; and on the north coast of Central America, near ports visited by American steamers, there is an active demand for bananas throughout the year.

The foreign commerce of Guatemala varies with the volume and the value of coffee. The exports have reached $26,000,000 in silver, and average $15,000,000. The imports vary from $7,000,000 to $10,000,000 in silver, according to the purchasing power of the people. Although the United States is so near, it has but a small share of the commerce of Guatemala. The greater part of the coffee goes to Europe, and is there exchanged for manufactured goods of every variety. The largest item of imports is wearing apparel, mostly cotton fabrics; but nearly every article of merchandise known to the wants of men is mentioned in the invoices.

Salvador.

Although the smallest in area of the group of Central American republics, Salvador is by far the richest, the most prosperous, the most enterprising, and the most densely populated. It is about the size of New Jersey, and has 803,130 inhabitants, or an average of 95 to the square mile. Almost every acre is under cultivation. About twenty thousand only of the people are white. They are the landlord class,—rich, proud, and autocratic. They own the land, fill the professions, and fight for the control of the government; while the 880,000 mestizos or mixed-blood Indians follow their fortunes with unquestioning fidelity and with an enthusiasm that is worthy of a better cause. The resources of the country are fully developed. The industrial arts are further advanced than in any other of the Central American countries; and the commerce *per capita* exceeds that of every European country except England. The people are more energetic and industrious than their neighbors; they have a greater degree of ingenuity; and the density of the population permits a cohesion in political as well as social and in-

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dustrial affairs that is not found in more sparsely settled communities. The rich live in luxury, and spend their money freely. They are highly educated, accomplished in the polite arts, and fond of foreign travel and social enjoyment. The peons live in a primitive manner. They are uneducated, and lack most of the comforts of civilization; but they are devoted to their employers and to the interests of the Catholic Church. The percentage of illiteracy in Salvador is greater than in any other part of America. According to the latest reports only 3 per cent of the population attend school. Although there is a free-school and compulsory-education law upon the statute-books, the only privileges of education are offered by the priests, who seem to be indifferent to everything except the spiritual welfare of their parishes.

There is probably more politics in Salvador in proportion to the population than in any other country in the world; and while it appears in the geographies as a republic, it is really an absolute monarchy, ruled by a small group of politicians who maintain their power by military force and are overthrown as often as the opposition can form and carry out a conspiracy. There has not been a "constitutional" president in Salvador for many years. The presidents have always been *pronunciamentos;* that is, they have come into power by self-proclamation rather than through an election by the people according to law. This is so common that the people expect nothing else. I happened to land at La Libertad shortly after President Cleveland had been inaugurated, and was much surprised when the Governor asked me whether he was a constitutional or a *pronunciamento* president.

The constitution of Salvador is a model document, although it is practically ignored. It provides that the President shall be elected for four years, the Senate for three years, and the House of Deputies for one year,—in each case by a direct vote of the people. There is a senator for every thirty thousand of the people, and a deputy for every fifteen thousand. Only property owners are eligible to office; none but taxpayers have the right to vote; and every citizen must show receipts for the payment of his taxes when he offers his ballot at the polls. Bankrupts are disfranchised, as are also persons engaged in domestic service, and those without stated occupations. Those who owe money to the government, those who have accepted pay or reward for any service to a foreign government, and those who have been convicted of felony are deprived of the right of suffrage. Unmarried men must own property and be able to read and write before they are recognized as citizens. But these admirable provisions are purely theoretical; and

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there has not been a free election in Salvador during the present generation. The President is generally a soldier; and the commander-in-chief of the army usually steps into that office when a vacancy occurs. There is a law prohibiting the conscription of soldiers; but it has never deterred the government from raising as many troops as were required. A story is told of a recruiting officer who sent a detachment of recruits to headquarters with a note which read: "I forward herewith one hundred volunteers. Please return immediately the ropes with which they are tied."

The Congress of Salvador on December 2, 1822, passed an act annexing that country to the United States, and calling for the appointment of commissioners to visit Washington advocating its incorporation in the great republic. Before the commissioners could leave the country, however, the other Central American states invited Salvador to join a confederacy; and the resolution of annexation was never officially presented to the United States Government. Personal jealousies and conflicting ambitions did not permit that confederacy to endure; and, although the advantages of consolidation under a central government have been admitted from the beginning, the amalgamation of the Central American republics has been found impossible, chiefly because of the superior strength of Guatemala, whose population equals, if it does not exceed, all the rest combined. The proposition has provoked several wars, with an enormous cost in lives and money; and it does not seem likely to be adopted until the arrival of that political millennium when all ambitious men shall sink their selfish aspirations and do unto others as they would others should do unto them.

Two years ago the three republics of Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, joined in a confederation called The Greater Republic of Central America, which has endured until now, but is not likely to continue much longer. The chief motive of the alliance was mutual protection against the aggressive policy of Guatemala, under the late President Barrios, who began to show signs of imitating his greater uncle in an attempt to coerce a union of all the republics. Other objects and interests were involved, of which it is not necessary to speak, except perhaps by way of allusion to a suspicion that Nicaragua desired to use the amalgamation as an excuse to decline to extend the concession to the Nicaragua Canal Company. That concession continues until 1899, with the privilege of an extension for a hundred years; and it had been expected that when the time for renewal came, the government of Nicaragua would explain that the assent of its allies was nec-

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essary. But the United States Government checked that move in advance. When permission was asked for the Walker Commission to make a new survey, the President of Nicaragua replied that the question would be submitted to the Diet of The Greater Republic of Central America; whereupon he was promptly informed that the Government of the United States firmly held the opinion that the Diet of Central America had nothing whatever to do with it. This unique alliance has no precedent. The three states named, by uniform treaties with each other, committed the conduct of their foreign affairs to a Diet of nine delegates, three to be chosen each year by the legislature of each state, to sit permanently by turns at their respective capitals. Each republic preserved its independence, so far as internal affairs were concerned. The United States has refused to recognize the existence of The Greater Republic of Central America; although it has received the minister accredited by the Diet as the representative of the individual states.

History is made rapidly in the Latin-American countries; and the handbooks need frequent revision. The Greater Republic of Central America is regarded among diplomatists as a transitory affair; and its existence may be terminated before these lines appear in print. On the other hand, it may continue indefinitely. There is considerable irritation just now between the members of the organization, which may result in a dissolution.

The products of Salvador are among the most profitable of the world. The soil is rich, deep, and easily cultivated. The chief staples are coffee, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and balsam, with several by-products which obtain high prices in foreign markets. The exports are very large. In 1895 they reached the sum of $13,847,625 in silver, of which the greater part came to the United States. The imports usually average $2,000,000, and comprise cotton goods, silks, woollens, boots, shoes, wearing apparel, wines, fancy food-products, hardware, railway supplies and other manufactures of iron, furniture, jewelry and other articles required by the luxurious tastes of the white inhabitants.

Nature was neglectful of Salvador in furnishing facilities for commerce; for, although the little republic stretches like a ribbon along the shores of the Pacific, there is not a harbor upon its coast. Vessels have to anchor outside the tremendous surf in deep water without protection from the weather; and when the barometer indicates a storm they are compelled to hoist their anchors and put out to sea. Sometimes the regular steamers are unable to stop at the ports of the country on their voyages up and down, because of the heavy seas. On such

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occasions they land their passengers and freight at the nearest port of safety to be transshipped as soon as circumstances will allow. All freight and passengers arriving at and leaving Salvador are transferred between the shore and the ships by lighters, which are moored to iron piers that extend beyond the surf. Passengers are hoisted in iron cages; cattle, by ropes attached to their horns; and dead freight, in enormous bags made of netted ropes. Horses are lifted and lowered with greater care by means of a strong harness of wide leather straps. The process is entertaining to bystanders; but it is not congenial to the timid and nervous passengers, who sometimes have hysterics or faint from fright. It is asserted, however, that no one has ever been injured in the course of this novel method of embarkation.

The mining industry has been carried on in Salvador with profit ever since the conquest of the country; and, although there have never been any rich strikes, some of the mines have paid dividends for centuries. Silver, gold, iron, copper, and quicksilver are found in abundance; and the stone-quarries are the best in Central America. There are several short railways connecting the coffee districts with the sea. The highways are better than those of the neighboring countries; every town and settlement is connected by telegraph; and there are telephones in all the offices, counting-houses, and principal residences.

One great drawback to the prosperity and contentment of Salvador is the frequency of destructive earthquakes. The city of San Salvador, which is the seat of government, has been repeatedly destroyed; and nearly every town has suffered more or less from subterranean convulsions. It is, therefore, impossible to make any architectural display. The houses are never more than one story in height, with massive walls, roofs of tiles that rest upon heavy rafters, and ceilings of cotton cloth. The latter are concealed by paper or fresco painting. But people can get used to nearly everything; and the Salvadoreans are so accustomed to a shaking up that, when a city is destroyed, the inhabitants at once begin cheerfully to clear away the rubbish and rebuild.

There is a remarkable volcano, called Izalco, not far from the capital, which suddenly burst out in 1770, and ever since, at intervals of seven minutes, from year's end to year's end, has spouted vast quantities of fire, lava, and ashes, which fall in a shower, enwrapping the mountain for a thousand feet below the summit with a blanket of fire. Izalco is called "El Faro de Salvador" (the lighthouse of Salvador); and, as far as the mountain can be seen, the vessels on the coast need no other beacon.

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THE ECONOMICS OF GENIUS.

In the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," for May, 1897, Prof. C. H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan, works out an able and successful refutation of a prevalent theory—of which the typical exponent is Sir Francis Galton—concerning the distribution and emergence of genius in human affairs. Theory is perhaps too strong a name for what is really the statement of a common empirical assumption; but as Galton supports his view of the matter by a certain process of statistics, it may fitly be allowed the status of a scientific contention. Briefly, this theory is, that although conditions count for something, genius in general is sure to work its way to the front; that fame, or the consensus of educated opinion, is a sufficiently sure test of genius; and that a prevailing preponderance of genius *per capita* in any society is to be taken as proving *pro tanto* a superiority in the race. These positions Mr. Cooley examines, in his essay on "Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races," with great candor and acumen; exposing their collective unsoundness, in my judgment, with convincing clearness.

So far as my reading goes, Mr. Cooley is entitled to claim that, while his position is not new,[1] no one has so fully maintained it in this particular connection; although the research of M. de Candolle in his "Histoire des Sciences et des Savants" handles the general problem perhaps more comprehensively. It is with some diffidence, therefore, that I venture to suggest that the argument may be carried further, not only as against Galton, but as against more circumspect attacks from Galton's point of view. The practical importance of the question, however, may excuse an attempt—made in entire sympathy with Mr. Cooley—thus to develop the discussion.

What Mr. Cooley has shown, as against the optimistic assumption that genius will always work its way to the front, is that, in view of the relatively very large number of cases in which admitted genius is found to have had distinctly favoring conditions, and of the number in which

[1] See, for instance, the discussion in Prof. William James's essay on "Great Men, Great Thoughts and the Environment," reprinted in his recent volume, "The Will to Believe."

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it could not conceivably have developed without either special cherishing or special stimulus, we are bound to conclude that much genius normally runs to waste,—fame giving no account of it,—and that race has practically nothing to do with the explanation. It is true that Galton has in a measure safeguarded his theory by the question-begging definition of genius[1] as "those qualities of intellect and disposition which *urge* and *qualify* a man to perform acts that lead to reputation. . . . I mean a nature which, when left to itself, *will*, urged by an inherent stimulus, climb the path that leads to eminence, *and has strength to reach the summit.*" As he justly observes, "it is almost a contradiction in terms, to doubt that such men will generally become eminent." A man who "will climb" and "has strength to reach the summit" seems pretty sure to get there; and if such men only are to be credited with the highest "natural ability," why then those who do not reach the summit are defined as deficient.

But the rest of the exposition shows that Galton's doctrine must be susceptible of a more courageous definition. He recognizes as geniuses a number of celebrities of the past who would be generally so classed without dispute; and he implies that these would under any circumstances have succeeded. Noting, too, that "culture is far more widely spread in America than with us [in England], and the education of their middle and lower classes far more advanced," without producing a proportionate amount of first-class intellectual work, he argues that, "if the hindrances to the rise of genius were removed from English society as completely as they have been removed from that of America, we should not become materially richer in highly eminent men." The hindrances here assumed are, by implication, those set up by lack of elementary schooling and of facilities for acquiring ordinary culture. But, if the argument holds good to that extent, it should follow that any other social hindrance to the development of genius is equally ineffective, and that society at all times gets the benefit of practically all the genius there is.

The disproof of this opinion, as put by Mr. Cooley, may be condensed in two lines of statement. First, on an examination of the list of names classed as preëminent in European literature in Prof. Nichol's

[1] In the current edition of "Hereditary Genius" (1892, p. 33) Galton uses the term "natural ability," instead of "genius," in this connection; but the use of "genius," which is so much more convenient, does not in any way pervert his argument. Reputation he defines as "the opinion of contemporaries, revised by posterity." This will do equally well for fame.

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synoptical "Tables,"—a manual compiled for strictly historical purposes,—it is found that out of seventy-one specified in a period of six hundred years (1265-1865), only two are those of sons of poor men; while forty-five may be classed as born in the upper or upper-middle class, and twenty-four in the lower-middle. Allowing some readjustment of the latter two classifications, the fact remains that two only of the seventy-one men of genius in question were sons of poor men; to wit, Bunyan and Burns.[1] Now, the parents of Bunyan, though very poor, were at the then unusual pains to have him taught reading and writing; so that he was thus put on the same average level of intellectual opportunity with the lower-middle class of his day. In the case of Burns, again, though boys of his class in Scotland were often taught reading and writing, we find special conditions set up by the uncommon devotion of the father to the education of his children.

I have compared Mr. Cooley's list of seventy-one celebrities with Prof. Nichol's "Tables," and noted its omissions. He has dealt with the great majority of the most famous writers; but, in addition to his list, the following thirty-nine names, are, by analogy, entitled to be included:—Bayle, Beaumont, Berkeley, Björnson, Bolingbroke, Buffon, Butler, Calvin, Chateaubriand, Comines, Diderot, Emerson, Flaubert, Fletcher, Franklin, Hawthorne, Herder, Herrick, Hood, Ibsen, Joubert, Lamb, Le Sage, Marmontel, Marvell, Meredith, More, Poe, Sachs, Schopenhauer, Smollett, Sterne, Jeremy Taylor, De Tocqueville, Turgéneff, Vauvenargues, Villon, Webster, and Wieland. Not a single name in the list, however, can fairly be added to the category of poor men's sons; nor can I find in all the "Tables" a single literary man of eminence who made his way from unschooled poverty by force of genius.

Thus far, then, it is ascertained that the only two (or three) sons of poor men, who, out of one hundred and ten celebrities during six centuries, attained the highest degree of fame in European literature, really had advantages quite abnormal in their class. Yet we are implicitly asked to believe that, had the cultural advantages been the same for all classes, the division which is broadly marked as "poor," and which has at all times been twice or thrice as numerous as the remainder, would

[1] Luther might perhaps be taken from the category of the lower-middle class, in which Mr. Cooley places him, and included in that of the poor. But his parents, like those of Bunyan and Burns, were able to send him to school, and he had his further education gratis; so that, in any view, his case strongly supports the principle contended for.

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have yielded no larger proportion of eminent intellectual achievement than it has done. A proposition so unreasonable can have been advanced only through lack of due reflection. In order to justify it, it would be necessary to show, by critical tests, that the composite masses classed as "poor" are actually deficient, number for number, in congenital brain-power, as compared with those born in better circumstances; and that, say, a given million of poor children, educated in the same conditions with a given million of the upper and middle classes, would yield less than one-hundredth part of the number of cases of first-rate literary ability supplied by the latter. No such evidence exists. The assumption under notice is an uncritical, empirical inference from statistics, the very nature of which suggests another explanation.

The strongest argument for any part of the Galtonian view seems to be that based on the relative infrequency of ostensible genius in the population of the United States as compared with that of England, where the elementary schooling is still less complete, and was for a long time much more scanty. It is at this point that the argument from the presence or absence of such conditions in the case of British men of letters must be followed up by an examination of the conditions of intellectual success in a community where the poorer masses are secured a measure of schooling, and where mere class prejudice puts little or no hindrance in the way of a poor youth's reaching intellectual eminence.

Galton argues, by implication, that if genius be socially suppressible by adverse conditions, and if favorable conditions be capable of developing a larger proportion of genius, the population of the United States ought to yield more great writers, thinkers, poets, artists, and men of science than the British. At the first glance, this assumption is plausible; especially when we have been arguing that the illiteracy of the mass of the English population in past ages is the explanation of there being only two poor men's sons among the literary men of genius of six centuries. But it is only at a first glance that the plausibility subsists. A little reflection makes it clear that the emergence of high literary capacity is the outcome of *the totality of intellectual and economic conditions*, and that Galton has given no thought to this totality, which varies greatly from age to age, and which differs widely as between England and the United States. Let us first note a few of the differences in the latter case.

(1) To this day, England has a much larger leisured class, in the sense of a class living on inherited incomes, than the United States. This class has, in the past hundred and fifty years, supplied the following

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writers:—Bentham, Browning, Buckle, Byron, Cowper, Darwin, Disraeli, Finlay, Fitzgerald, the author of "Supernatural Religion," Freeman, Francis Galton, Gibbon, Hallam, P. G. Hamerton, Hamilton, Hume, Keats, Kinglake, Landor, Lecky, Cornewall Lewis, Long, Lytton, Mitford, William Morris, Napier, Palgrave, De Quincey, Ruskin, Senior, Shelley, Stanhope, Swinburne, Symonds, Tennyson (also pensioned), Thackeray (lost income before thirty), Tylor, and Wordsworth. In our own day this class appears to yield a decreasing supply of eminent men—a fact to be dealt with later.

(2) Until quite recently, there was in England a much larger provision for intellectual life than in the United States, in the way of university and other endowments and ecclesiastical semi-sinecures. To such provision may be attributed much of the output of such writers as Austin, Bain, Cairnes, Clifford, Colenso, Gardiner, Gray, T. H. Green, Huxley, Jevons, Maine, Malthus, Mansel, Merivale, Milman, Newman, Owen, Pater, Pattison, Reid, Robertson, Thorold Rogers, Sayce, Seeley, Sidgwick, Stanley, Stubbs, Thirlwall, Warton, Whewell, and others. Now that American university endowments are multiplying, the competent output of serious treatises is seen to be increasing much more rapidly in the United States than in England.

(3) Public appointments which are (*a*) semi-sinecures, or (*b*) so well salaried as to permit of the speedy accumulation of a fortune, or (*c*) so easy as to permit of a great deal of leisure, have always been far more numerous in England than in the States. To the help of such appointments may be attributed much of the production of the following writers:—Matthew Arnold, Hill Burton, Charles Lamb, Macaulay, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Patmore, Scott (whose sheriffalty was an easy post), and Trollope.

(4) Certain business positions, a generation or more ago, if not to-day, permitted a much larger amount of leisure in England than was usually possible in similar positions in the United States. In such positions were: Bagehot (banker), Grote (banker), Lubbock (banker), Hugh Miller (well-schooled quarryman, afterward bank accountant), Ricardo (stockbroker), and Samuel Sharp (banker).

The foregoing heads have reference to the superior directly protective conditions in England. But with these there have concurred certain favorable conditions which may be termed indirectly protective, either absolutely or relatively to the conditions in the States. Such have been:

(5) The presence, in the past, of what may be described as an old

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and relatively rich literary soil and a literary atmosphere. These were jointly supplied by the leisured, the scholarly, and the educated official classes, all built up on old protective foundations. Among the English idle class in particular, despite much frivolity, the conditions of political life for two hundred years have tended to stimulate certain kinds of study. The state clergy, too, by reason of the secure character of the incomes of the better paid and of the social status accorded them for over a century back, have, till recently, been more liberally educated than those of most of the sects in America. There has thus been generated all round an atmosphere much more favorable to specialized culture than that which prevailed in the greater part of the United States till twenty or thirty years ago, when Galton first wrote, and this despite the greater diffusion in the States of elementary education.

(6) Partly by reason of the conditions just specified, American writers were, for a long time, handicapped, as compared with English. Not only did a certain prestige attach, for competent American readers, to English work, but the law as to copyright permitted, till recently, the sale of reprinted English books at prices which often left nothing for the author, and with which native writers could not possibly compete. The United States, indeed, may be said to have protected every native activity that incurred foreign competition, save literature. In consequence, Americans who sought to live by the higher or more laborious sorts of literature had an almost hopeless struggle before them. Poe's life was one of constant, and at times desperate, hardship, and would have been so even if he had been a teetotaller. Hawthorne could hardly have subsisted, but for his political appointments,—appointments which, since his time, are more and more seldom given to men who, like him, can render their party little political service. Emerson's adoption of serious literature as a vocation was the result of his being left, through change of religious opinion, unfitted for any other income-earning pursuit. Lowell had private means apart from his professorship. Longfellow had a good unearned income. Whitman lived as a poor man all his life, and finally had to be supported by donations. On Galton's theory of genius, these were all, or nearly all, the men of high potential literary genius in the States during fifty years. Reason would seem to force us to the conclusion that, on the contrary, there were among the mass of the population at least some hundreds of brains which, with due fostering and opportunity, could have produced first-class intellectual work, whether in the way of *belles lettres*, or science, or philosophy, or historical research.

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Galton himself has affirmed that such commanders as Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, Cæsar, Cromwell, Marlborough, the Princes of Nassau, Wellington, and Napoleon "would have distinguished themselves under any circumstances." While noting the difficulty of conceiving of Scipio, Marlborough, and Wellington distinguishing themselves as thinkers or writers, we may fairly take this proposition to mean that the men named could have succeeded greatly either as politicians or as men of business in a non-military society. If then that be conceivable, it is equally arguable that men who have succeeded greatly in politics or business in a non-military society might have succeeded no less in the intellectual life had their circumstances been sufficiently favorable to that vocation.

The most pressing necessity for most men being the earning of a livelihood, it stands to reason that some men with the capacity for great things in thought or expression, finding it nearly impossible to earn a fair income by such activity, will turn from that path to one of those where earning is incomparably easier. In many cases, men are forced so to choose by the need to support those dear to or dependent upon them: in other cases, they may rationally so choose for their own sakes.

On Galton's principle, the much larger number of culture-specialists in Germany than in England is a proof of a proportionally greater capacity for such things in the German people. A more considerate induction will show that it is merely the special provision made for such activities by the German university system, concurrently with the contrary influence of the commercial development long ago imposed on England by her natural resources and her political system, that sets up the difference.

Mr. Cooley has well shown, further, the breakdown of the Galtonian principle when applied to such a case as the rise, florescence, and fall of the art of painting in Italy between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the theory of special national faculties, that process is inexplicable. On the theory of the potency of economic and social conditions, it is perfectly intelligible.

As with nations, so with classes. The researches of M. de Candolle have shown that the proportion of successful men of science drawn from the working-class has varied, as between France and other countries, in a way that can be explained only by special evocative influences. Studying the lists of the members and foreign associates of the French Academy of Sciences between 1666 and 1870, he finds that out of ninety

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of the ninety-two foreign associates whose careers he can trace, six only, or 7 per cent, belong to the working-class; thirty-seven, or 41 per cent, belonging to rich or aristocratic families, and forty-seven, or 52 per cent, to the middle class. Making up a list of sixty first-rate French *savants* of the same period, forty of whom had been associates of both the French Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London, he finds that, of this number, fourteen, or 23 per cent, belonged to the multitude, twenty-one, or 35 per cent, to the rich or noble class, and twenty-five, or 42 per cent, to the middle class. In the list of forty eminent Frenchmen honored at London and Berlin, he has traced thirty-six careers; and of these no fewer than nine, or 25 per cent, spring from the working-class.

M. de Candolle does not attempt to explain the difference thus indicated between France and other countries; but, in view of what has gone before, we may provisionally do so by attributing it to the special educative machinery set up in France in the last century by the Jesuit schools,[1] and, since the Revolution, by the republican and Napoleonic provision of a similar kind. When all is said, however, the researches of M. de Candolle yield the outstanding result that, of all social grades, the numerically small upper class has in the past yielded the largest proportion of eminent men of science, from the days when, in Britain, Napier and Bacon, Newton and Boyle were contemporaries till at least the last generation; the middle class yielding proportionally fewer, and the poor class by far the least of all. And as the principle of heredity entirely fails to explain the facts,[2] we are driven back once more to the conclusion that potential genius is probably about as frequent in one class as in another, and that it emerges in the ratio of its total opportunities.

That view, it may be pointed out, is in full harmony with the summing-up of M. de Candolle, who states the conditions which he finally

[1] M. de Candolle notes that while the Catholic Church has produced no great naturalists, and few of any grade, she can claim so large a number of astronomers, physicists, and mathematicians, that "one would say the Church has wished to repel the reproach made against her on the score of Galileo, by cultivating precisely his sciences."

[2] Galton admits ("Hereditary Genius," p. 213) that "Newton's ancestry appears to have been in no way remarkable for intellectual ability." Boyle is the only case of scientific genius in *his* numerous stock. The fact that Napier's father was Master of the Scottish Mint at sixteen, when it is alleged his son was born, proves only court favor. And Galton freely admits that "the fathers of the ablest men in science have frequently been unscientific" (p. 190).

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finds to be favorable to the emergence of high *scientific* capacity thus:—

"1. A considerable proportion of persons belonging to the rich or well-to-do classes of the population, relatively to those who are obliged to work constantly for their living, especially by hand labor.

2. An important proportion, among the rich or well-to-do classes, of persons content with their incomes, having a fortune easy to administer, and consequently content to occupy themselves with intellectual matters which 'do not pay.'

3. An old intellectual culture, directed for several generations back toward real things and true ideas.

4. Immigration of cultured foreign families, with a taste for non-lucrative intellectual tasks.

5. The existence of a number of families with traditions favorable to the sciences and to intellectual occupations of all kinds.

6. Primary and, above all, secondary and superior education, well organized, independent of political and religious parties, tending to stimulate research and to encourage young men and specialists devoted to science.

7. Abundant and well-organized material means for scientific pursuits (libraries, observatories, laboratories, collections).

8. A public interested in things real and true rather than in things imaginary or fictitious.

9. The liberty to announce and publish every opinion, at least on scientific subjects, without suffering inconveniences of any gravity.

10. A public opinion favorable to the sciences and to those who cultivate them.

11. Liberty to follow any profession, to avoid any, to travel, to avoid all personal service other than what is voluntarily undertaken.

12. A religion laying little stress on the principle of authority.

13. A clergy friendly to instruction for its own members and for the public.

14. A clergy not restricted to celibacy.

15. The habitual use of one of the three principal languages, English, German, or French. A well-diffused knowledge of these languages in the educated class.

16. A small independent state or union of small independent states.

17. Geographical position in a temperate or northerly climate.

18. Nearness of civilized countries."

Comprehensive as is this estimate, it is perhaps too specially directed to the case of Switzerland, that being the country where, as M. de Candolle's statistics amply prove, scientific capacity has been developed in the largest proportion relatively to population. But any additions made to his explanation would leave its essentials untouched; and it would need no great readjustment to make it cover the cases of literary, philosophic, and artistic ability. The principal addenda which suggest themselves to me are:—

(*a*) That the special cultivation of the sciences in Switzerland within the past century-and-a-half is, in a measure, due to the conditions left by the old Calvinistic *régime*, which there deliberately crushed all the imaginative arts, as it did in Scotland. Intellectual curiosity played where it could.

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(*b*) That the lack of important philosophers in Switzerland, at a time when such were arising in Britain, France, and Germany, was a result of the strong hold of the orthodox tradition even at a time when men were freely studying the physical sciences. Philosophy in the other countries was developed by the stimulus of scepticism.

(*c*) That smallness of a state is not essential to the abundant development of either science, art, or literature. It was not the smallness of Athens, compared with, say, Rome and Egypt, that determined Attic development. What *is* important is abundance of culture-contacts, which certainly have abounded in the case of Switzerland, in touch at once with France, Germany, and Italy. Holland, again, is a small state; but it has latterly done proportionally less than France in the sciences, the arts, and in fine literature.

(*d*) Relative *lack of opportunity* for commercial expansion, *i.e.*, inducement to seek wealth rather than knowledge, is an important factor in the intellectual differentiation of, say, Switzerland and England. In Newton's day, England was scientifically far ahead of Switzerland. The later enormous expansion of English industry, through abundant coal and iron, made England preëminently a commercial country, where large incomes were the ideal for the middle and upper classes. The narrower industrial conditions in Switzerland [1] counted for more than mere family tradition in maintaining plain living and disinterested study. The conditions in Scotland last century closely resembled those of Switzerland; but commercial development has modified culture-history in Scotland as in England.

Taking these considerations with those adduced by Mr. Cooley and M. de Candolle, we get a pretty general view of the conditions of emergence for some of the most important forms of abnormal intellectual ability, and a pretty general refutation of Galton's teaching.

There remains, however, the criterion of individual cases, as against Galton's assumption that genius is a self-securing force. Mr. Cooley has pointed to two,—Darwin and Thackeray. In the former, there was clearly needed the condition of a private income to permit of due leisure, and, further, the strictest economy of strength. In the latter, it seems to have needed the condition of pecuniary necessity to spur the artistic faculty into strenuous play. In all probability, we should have had

[1] About 1790, the Swiss population was 1,700,000; in 1836 it was 2,177,420; and in 1888, it had only increased to 2,933,334. This is a much slower rate of increase than that in Scotland, where in 1801, the population was 1,608,420, and in 1891, had increased to 4,025,647.

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few or none of Thackeray's novels, had his private fortune remained intact. Then in the case of Thackeray we have, in terms of Galton's formulas, capacity without zeal, and in the case of Darwin, zeal without due physical strength. Darwin could never have done his work without his inherited means; and as a poor man's son he would certainly have remained obscure.

At this rate, then, we should have to strike off the list of geniuses an indefinite number of those who realize for us our notion of the species. Above all, we should be compelled to strike off the name of Shakespeare. Few who have closely studied the life of the latter, the typical man of genius, will dispute the proposition that, had he been able to make a good livelihood in his father's business, he would never have turned actor or playwright. He happened to combine, with a temperament and literary faculty of extraordinary plasticity, a thoroughly business-like attitude toward the main chance; securing his gains and his dues with scrupulous exactitude; writing nothing, save his sonnets, without a clear pecuniary motive; and giving up his literary career as soon as he had made a comfortable fortune. On the other hand, as his sonnets distinctly tell, he suffered enough in his life as an actor to make it impossible that he should have sought the stage had he not been driven by need; and, had he not turned actor, he would never have become a dramatist. In brief, Shakespeare untaught, unschooled, and living where players never came, would probably never have written a line; and Shakespeare well-to-do in Stratford would have felt no compelling necessity for self-expression, save perchance in forms even more factitious than "Venus and Adonis."

It thus begins to appear that the aggressive and inevitable impulse to action or utterance, which Galton identifies with genius, is merely an occasional concomitant thereof. Some such impulse does appear, at the first glance, in the cases of Bacon, Newton, Pope, and many others. But in these cases, in turn, there is not the least reason to suppose that, with an obscure birth, illiterate childhood, and a toilsome youth, the congenital faculty could ever have come to any such development as it actually chanced to attain under favorable conditions. On the contrary, a wide survey of literary biography entitles us to surmise that there have lived and died in toilsome poverty many potential Bacons and some Shakespeares, numerous "mute, inglorious" Miltons, and many a Cromwell "guiltless of his country's blood."

In fine, the individualistic society of the past, so often credited with creating conditions favoring the "survival of the fittest" in the

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intellectual as in the physical life, is seen rather to have fixed conditions which theoretically are almost the least favorable to a maximum (numerical) development of potential mental faculty. It has created conditions under which from a small minority only of the total population at any given moment could its best intellects be drawn; and its conditions have tended, in a degree that seems to be progressive in each civilization after a certain stage, to keep latent even a large part of the capacity of this small minority. Hereditary opportunity of doing well in business keeps dumb, presumptively, the middle-class Shakespeares, no matter how few: the inheritance of fortunes keeps free of due pressure the upper-class Thackerays, a less rare variety.

I have said that, as time goes on, the class with inherited incomes appears to be yielding proportionally less and less intellectual service to society. This seems to hold good in England and the United States alike, since, in both cases, especially the latter, the idle class has increased in number during the past fifty years, while its intellectual output has decreased, at least as regards the higher grades. I do not confidently undertake to explain this in terms of social conditions. M. de Candolle's specification of "family tradition" here suggests itself; the "new rich" being so often differently situated in this respect from the former rich, whose scions in many cases have had to revert to commerce.

Again, some allowance ought, perhaps, to be made for the fact that an enormous amount of knowledge, scientific and historical, has been amassed within the past hundred and fifty years, and that a mind, which fifty years ago might have been moved to write, would to-day decide that enough had been written. But, on the whole, I strongly lean to the conclusion that the main factor at work is the growing power of civilized society, as a sphere of entertainment and enjoyment, to absorb the interests of leisured men. Since railways have so immeasurably facilitated travel; since European peace has so enormously encouraged it; since the opening up of North America, much of Asia, and much of Africa to the ordinary rich traveller has so vastly increased his field; since amusement of every description and physical comfort in every direction have been so extraordinarily developed; and since the literature of enjoyment, from the superior newspaper with its short tale and poem and its anecdotal biography to the masterly social novel and the entertaining history, has been so bewilderingly multiplied, the man of private means has been subjected to an incalculable amount of invitation—not to say temptation—to rest content with enjoying the good

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things of life. Such a process took place in the society of ancient Rome, from 100 B.C. till the end of the Empire; and the modern development of wealth and luxury has far exceeded anything in antiquity. In the Dark and Middle Ages, men turned to war through sheer need of excitement. After the height of the feudal period, in the north as previously in the south, we find the men of the class which of old had been idle or military turning to literature and science,—witness More, Montaigne, Bacon, Worcester, and Napier. When the middle military period of civil wars had led to that of quietude and standing armies, we find aristocrats taking to literature anew,—witness the titled authors of the Restoration, and the generations of De Retz and Saint Simon, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, followed by those of Montesquieu and Condorcet, Hume and Gibbon, the Humboldts and Alfieri, Chénier and Shelley, De Maistre, De Tocqueville, De Belloguet, Von Ense, and Fustel de Coulanges. But the literary aristocrat promises to disappear, as do the divers types of Bacon, Goethe, Grote, Guizot, and Buckle, and, for different reasons, those of Milman, Thirlwall, and Stubbs. Of all which the moral is that, if society in the strictly industrial period does not deliberately construct an evocative machinery to do well and systematically what the institution of inherited wealth sometime did imperfectly and at random, it will forfeit its birthright in an even further degree than did the military and semi-military societies of the past.

Genius is conditioned economically, morally, and socially. Conditions which are partly favorable to it are seen to disappear by economic evolution even in an age of moral progress; and unless to the achieved moral and scientific progress be added a social science which takes intelligent heed of such changes, there may follow manifold retrogression.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

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THE HANDEL REVIVAL IN GERMANY.

AMERICANS and Englishmen may, perhaps, be astonished to hear of a revival of Handel's oratorios in Germany; more particularly as England has apparently never neglected them. The performance of Handel's works at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, which takes place every three years, always assumes the form of a national festival, to which vast audiences flock from every part of the United Kingdom.

What, then, is the reason of the movement, now set on foot in Germany, for a *revival* of Handel's music? This may, perhaps, be best answered by a brief historical survey of Handel's works, and a discussion of the following questions: (1) Are the celebrated Sydenham performances strictly in accordance with Handel's style, and do they adequately represent his musical intuitions? (2) How many of the oratorios of the great master—none of which lacks merit—are performed at these festivals? Even in England are not the majority of them known only by their titles?

In 1784 (one year too early) the centenary of Handel's birth was celebrated in London by a magnificent musical festival. Burney, in "An Account of the Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey" (London, 1785), has given a full description of it, which is of permanent value to the historian of music. The object of the festival was to bring the powerful individuality of Handel, as well as his versatility, once more before the London public. At about the same time, under the patronage of George III, the first complete edition of Handel's works was published. This edition, however, was, unfortunately, very incorrect. That the influence of the great London festival of 1784 was felt in Germany, is apparent from the fact that, soon afterward, "The Messiah" was several times performed in that country.[1] Yet, upon the whole, the German public manifested but a faint interest in Handel's works. During the Napoleonic wars, a number of those oratorios

[1] These performances of "The Messiah" were, until very recently, believed to have been the first on German soil. Kade, the German historian of music, has lately shown, however, that this master-work of Handel had been already performed in Hamburg in 1775; in Mannheim in 1777; and in Schwerin in 1780.

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which have for their subject the liberation of Israel from captivity were given; but the purpose was a political rather than a purely artistic one.

Although some of the foremost men of the nation thoroughly appreciated the genius of Handel, yet nothing further was done for the furtherance of oratorio. Herder and Goethe are known to have admired Handel; while Mozart and Haydn were powerfully inspired by his music. Mozart prepared a new instrumentation of "The Messiah"; and, but for the influence of Handel, Haydn would probably never have written his own celebrated oratorios, "The Seasons" and "The Creation." Beethoven, also, toward the close of his life, became acquainted with Handel's music, and pointed to him as a model for his pupils. In his "Grand Overture," Op. 124, he even adopted a theme conceived in Handel's style.

Vienna was slower than any other city to recognize Handel's merits, as is manifest when we consider that, as late as 1873, the oratorio "Saul" was performed there as a novelty. Throughout Germany, Handel's music found but tardy acceptance. Mendelssohn's oratorios and other works absorbed all the interest; although the composer of "St. Paul" and "Elijah," who had learned so much from Handel, himself zealously endeavored to propagate the music of the latter.

So widespread was the misunderstanding as to Handel's music, that many celebrated musicians went so far as to declare it antiquated and obsolete. Eventually, Handel came to be regarded merely as a composer of church music; although what he has written directly for the church service constitutes but a very small portion of his musical legacy. Indeed, to a great extent, Handel is still so regarded in Germany; and there are many eminent musicians of the present day who are ignorant of the fact that he was the greatest operatic composer prior to the advent of Gluck, and that his oratorios can be understood only when considered as musical dramas founded upon Biblical texts.

In the same way the style of interpretation appropriate to Handel's works is grossly misunderstood. In this respect, it is astonishing how rapidly tradition has died out. Mozart failed to perceive the true spirit of Handel's music; and in his instrumentation of "The Messiah," he furnished a dangerous precedent which has been productive of serious consequences. A proof of this may be found in the skilful and interesting arrangement of the same work by R. Franz, which, however, is not at all in accordance with Handel's style. Mendelssohn, Mosel, Hiller, and others who have revised Handel's works, all follow the same course;

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and it is astonishing that they have not shown an appreciation of even the most important point involved. They confine themselves to the modernization of Handel's orchestra, by augmenting the number of instruments and by enriching the music with tone-colors that Handel neither dreamed of nor desired. How erroneous it is, therefore, to assert, in vindication of such a proceeding, that Handel, were he living, would undoubtedly employ the modern orchestra for the interpretation of his ideas! One might as well advocate a retouching of Raphael's paintings in accordance with the principles of the Impressionist School, or a remodelling of Beethoven's overtures in order to introduce the latest instruments employed by Liszt, Wagner, and Brahms. In this way the proper appreciation of Handel's musical intuitions has been lost entirely, not only in Germany, but in England as well.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1859, the centenary of Handel's death. Both England and Germany united to honor Handel; and the magnificent bust erected to his memory in the market-place of his native city, Halle, bears testimony to the liberality of his English admirers, who had contributed the greater part of the fund necessary to its completion.

But Handel was to receive a still worthier monument, to which Germans alone were to contribute. The centennial anniversary of Bach's death led to the establishment, in 1850, of a "Bach Society." Since Mendelssohn had succeeded, in 1829, in producing "The Passion" of that great master, the fame of the latter, in contradistinction to that of Handel, had spread all over Germany, and his works had met with an ever-increasing appreciation. The "Bach Society" now collected these works, which had been widely scattered, and published them in a sumptuous edition. This task—one of the greatest difficulty—was admirably performed.

When the centenary of Handel's death approached, two of his admirers—who had a profound conviction of the value of his works—decided to pay him a tribute similar to that which Bach had received. These men were the professor of literature, Georg Gottfried Gervinus, and the historian of music, Friedrich Chrysander. The latter, who was then in his thirtieth year, had already published the first volume of his celebrated "Biography of G. F. Handel." This faithful investigator has now passed his seventy-fourth year, and is still engaged in the great task of revealing the true nature of the eminent composer. Thus, for over forty years, his labors in this field have been unremitting.

In 1856, both Chrysander and Gervinus aimed at the establishment

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of a Handel Society, whose object was to be the publication and propagation of Handel's works. Such a society had been already established in London in 1843. The edition which it published was, however, incomplete, and just as incorrect as that of 1786; so that the original London edition of Walsh, Mear, & Cluer was really preferable to it. For this reason an entirely new edition was absolutely essential. Chrysander and Gervinus chose Hauptmann and Dehn to coöperate with them; and these four organized as a board of directors. They solicited subscriptions to further their enterprise; but all their efforts were in vain: the movement was not favored, and languished for lack of support. Dissensions among the managers of the Society also contributed to arrest its progress. Finally, some of the original founders determined to defray the cost of publication out of their own pockets. Even then, however, the enterprise did not prosper. Upon the death of Prof. Dehn, Julius Rietz, the successor and friend of Mendelssohn, became a member of the board of directors. But he was really opposed to the movement; while Hauptmann, one of the original founders, who had now lost heart, flatly declared that he did not consider the works of Handel worthy of a new edition, and suggested their publication in the form of an "Anthology." The publishing firm, Breitkopf & Haertel, now also lost confidence and retired from the undertaking. It was only after Gervinus had pledged himself to pay a considerable part of the expense that the firm decided to publish a few volumes as an experiment.

Nobody at that time believed that the matter would ever prosper; for even Gervinus now declared that he would await further developments before pledging himself to additional financial guarantees. Chrysander was the only one entirely faithful to the movement; but, unfortunately, he possessed no pecuniary means.

All this was changed in 1860, when George V, the last King of Hanover, summoned Chrysander to his capital, in order that he might confer with him on matters relating to church music. This monarch became so greatly interested in the modest musician and scholar that he sought some means of making life easier for him. The topic was one day brought up in conversation. Chrysander never for a moment thought of his personal well-being, but advised the king to further the cause of Handel, to which his own life was so entirely devoted. King George thereupon donated an annual pension of three thousand marks, to be paid for a period of twelve years. Chrysander faithfully forwarded the entire sum to the board of directors—and reaped base ingratitude.

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Dissension among the members continued to characterize the further progress of the Society—which, indeed, had always been such only in name. In 1862, one after another of the original members having dropped out, only Gervinus and Chrysander remained to carry on the work.

Four years later, an event occurred which proved still more calamitous to the undertaking. Prussia annexed Hanover and confiscated the fortune of the king. The interest of this money was used by Prussia for all kinds of political purposes; but no provision was made for the continuance of the Handel fund until some time afterward, when Chrysander unaided, after an incredible amount of trouble, succeeded in obtaining some concession from the government. Chrysander had already become the soul of the movement; and upon the death of Gervinus, in 1871, he was compelled to assume all debts and responsibilities. He did not despair, however, but remained faithfully at his post, making the greatest sacrifices; and to-day he is engaged alone in the stupendous task of publishing Handel's works. Equipped with a single hand-press, and assisted by only one printer and one engraver of music, he has already proceeded so far that but three volumes are now needed to complete the full edition of Handel's works. This great achievement has been due largely to the efforts of a single man.

But, after all, the publication of a musical work is one thing: its adequate performance is another. Of all the arts, music is the most dependent upon correct interpretation; the fate of Handel's works furnishing the strongest proof of this assertion. I have already referred to the arbitrary revision of Handel's orchestration; but this is not the greatest evil to which his works have been subjected. Harmonies have been introduced into them which are utterly at variance with his style. As an example, I would refer to the frequent employment of the chord of the seventh in passages where Handel plainly prefers the simple triad, which is much more beautiful and dignified. The worst feature of this perversion of style, however, will be found in the vocal rendering of Handel's arias and duets,—a rendering which is always based upon the extremely crude sketches of the great master himself.

All of Handel's followers, from Mozart to Franz, have overlooked the necessity of revising and amplifying the vocal score of Handel's works. All performances of Handel in Germany, as well as in other countries, suffer from defects which arise from a misconception of Handel's vocalization. Where the English language is spoken, the consequences are not so serious. But in Germany, where the text of Handel has been subjected to translation, in which the relation of word and tone

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has been entirely ignored, the performance of Handel's works frequently descends to the level of caricature.

It remained, therefore, for Chrysander to elucidate the style of Handel; and this task he has performed admirably in the edition which is now approaching completion. His mode of procedure is extremely simple; his work being based entirely upon the practice of Handel himself and the methods employed by him in his rehearsals. During a period of forty years, Chrysander familiarized himself thoroughly with these matters; and even now, the aged investigator goes annually to England to extend his researches. The improvements which Chrysander has introduced may be classified as follows: (1) A new translation, which is faithful to the original and which emphasizes the relation of word and tone; (2) the concentration of the dramatic element; (3) the restoration of the arias; and (4) the restoration of the original orchestra of Handel.

(1) It is not necessary to dwell here at length upon the matter of translation, as in England and America the works of Handel are performed in the original text. To Germans, however, the question of translation is of the greatest importance. Handel, like Lully, Gluck, and Wagner, took great pains to preserve the relation between word and tone,—between the rhythmical accent of speech and that of music. This is plainly observable in his recitatives. The latter are such masterpieces, and contain a dramatic element so powerful, that Chrysander's work of reformation may be said to be concentrated here. In previous translations the relation of word and tone was disregarded. As a consequence, unaccented syllables frequently fall on emphatic beats of the measure; words are frequently placed under mere embellishments; and these embellishments, which, in the original, serve merely to beautify and enhance the sound of a vowel, in the translation are frequently appended to an unfavorable syllable.

Chrysander has remedied these and many other defects. Minutely attentive to every detail, he has prepared a translation which, while it does not strain the language in the least, is, nevertheless, in exact accordance with the vocalization, and in strict conformity with the sense of the original text.

Where insurmountable difficulties occur, Chrysander alters the musical construction to suit the requirements of the case. This is done entirely in the spirit of Handel himself, who never dwells upon insignificant notes in his recitatives, but invariably emphasizes the importance of the text and the dramatic effect to be produced. The liberty of construc-

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tion of which Chrysander avails himself in this instance, and which, perhaps, may be condemned by timid pedants, finds a still wider application in his concentration of the dramatic content of Handel's works,—an innovation, which has never failed of its effect upon German audiences.

(2) In regard to the concentration of the dramatic element, it is necessary to bear in mind that Handel was, above all, a dramatic composer who, by reason of external influences, had abandoned the field of opera and entered that of the oratorio, in which latter he became preeminent. It is necessary to consider further that, upon special occasions, Handel abridged, amplified, or modified the construction of his oratorios. Indeed, we know that in several instances he incorporated melodies from the works of other composers. In this way some of the productions of Handel assumed a colossal form,—a form, however, in which the composer himself never brought them before the public. He invariably altered them according to the requirements of the occasion. Furthermore, he was largely influenced by the dramatic personnel at his command; sometimes substituting an alto for a tenor, when the latter part could not be adequately filled.

In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that Handel, in his oratorios, at first confined himself entirely to scene and action. It was owing to the mandate of Bishop Gibson, prohibiting the theatrical representation of sacred subjects, that Handel abandoned his original design. His first oratorio, "Esther," which was written in 1720, for the Duke of Chandos, was directly inspired by Racine's play bearing the same title. From all this, it will be seen that Chrysander's work is based upon historical facts.

(3) In order to understand the third great improvement introduced by Chrysander, it is necessary to take a brief historical survey of the development of Handel's aria. This is the so-called *da capo* aria of the old Italian opera. It consists of three parts, the first of which is written in the principal key; the second, which, in many respects, forms a striking contrast to the first, being written in a key related to it; while the third is a repetition of the first, richly embellished and amplified. Cavalli (1599–1676) and Alessandro Scarlatti, the leading genius of the Neapolitan school (1659–1725), have each been regarded as the inventor of this form of the aria. The *da capo* aria was especially well adapted to the needs of the vocal virtuoso, as it afforded ample scope for the display of his own peculiar gifts. The cadenzas, coloratures, and other splendid fireworks of the *bel canto* were, therefore, always carried out according to the individual taste of the performer, whose high de-

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gree of musical culture qualified him for the task. For this reason, Handel wrote only the meagre sketches of his arias; leaving their correct execution and embellishment to the improvisatorial talent of his singers.

Now, in the course of time, the traditional rendering of the *bel canto* was lost; and, as a consequence, the bare sketches of Handel were accepted as the genuine coin and were performed without the necessary additions. This error has been entirely rectified by Chrysander, who, with infinite pains, sought the rules and methods of the *bel canto* at their original source, in order that his work of restoration might be based upon safe and reliable models. This research became absolutely necessary, as nothing was to be expected from our modern singers, many of whom are so frequently lacking in broader musical culture, and whose ideals, moreover, have been entirely changed by the innovations of Richard Wagner. As a result of these greatly altered conditions, the old Italian *bel canto* has become almost obsolete. For this reason, Chrysander has arranged all the solo-parts with minute exactness as to every detail; and he is untiring in his efforts to impress his singers with the proper style of interpretation.

(4) The restoration of the orchestra as employed by Handel has met with universal admiration; and audiences are invariably astonished at the marvellous tonal effects produced. This orchestra consists of a string-quintet, flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums. The flutes were mostly employed by Handel as solo-instruments. This somewhat slender orchestral body is, however, invariably strengthened by the piano and the organ. The former, still designated in the score as the "cembalo," serves to swell the harmony and to accentuate the rhythm. In Handel's time, this was the instrument of the director, whose title was "Maestro al cembalo"; for the *bâton* was not introduced until the beginning of the present century. The recitatives were accompanied by the *cembalo* (piano) alone, except in the occasional instances where the latter was strengthened in the bass by the sustained tones of a single violoncello. How erroneous it is, therefore, to support the recitative by the ponderous chords of the organ, as frequently happens in Germany! In the original scores of Handel, the organ is usually employed in the choruses; and although there are exceptions to this rule, they are always specially indicated in the score.

Furthermore, Handel is distinguished by many peculiarities of style in respect of the employment and the combination of the wind-instruments. The oboe—Handel's favorite—must be well represented in the orchestra; eight to ten of these instruments being sometimes required,

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even when the orchestra and chorus are of medium size, in order that the tonal effects which Handel had in mind may be properly produced.

It is necessary to state also that Handel, in the style of the old masters generally, employed the wind-instruments in *solo obbligato* passages, to accompany the recitative. I have here referred to only a few of the striking peculiarities of Handel's orchestra, and would mention, in addition, merely the very important reform that Chrysander has introduced in the treatment of the *cembalo* (piano).

Handel, according to the custom of his time, merely indicated the piano part in the form of a *basso continuo* (thorough-bass); presenting the lowest tones in the left hand, and indicating the amplification of the harmony by numbers placed above them. While it is not difficult for the educated musician to supply the missing harmonies from these directions, it is, nevertheless, by no means an easy task to do so in the style of Handel. For this purpose, it is necessary to identify oneself closely with Handel's art. Chrysander has done this; and in order to guard against any arbitrary innovations, he has everywhere written out the piano part, the execution of which in public performances has been entrusted to the organist Kleinpaul, a specialist in this department of music. It remains to point out to what extent Handel's music, now thoroughly revised as to style, has found acceptance with the public.

In this connection, it is necessary, above all, to mention again the name of George V of Hanover. We have seen that it was Chrysander who first drew the attention of this monarch, who had ever been a patron of the arts, to the high merit of Handel's long-neglected works. George V finally determined to foster the art of Handel,—who had been chapel-master at the court of his ancestors,—and to provide a home for it in his own capital. Unfortunately, the political catastrophe of 1866 prevented the execution of this noble project; and Chrysander's plans in this regard were entirely frustrated.

It was not until 1889 that an attempt could be made to introduce Handel's music in its revised form. At that time the "Bach Society" of Hamburg produced "Deborah," the second great oratorio of Handel, with excellent results.

A few years later, however, an event took place which proved decisive as to the complete redemption of Handel's music. I refer to the *Erstes Deutsches Handelfest* (First German Handel Festival) which was given at Mayence in the summer of 1895. As German funds could not be obtained, the enterprise was supported by English capital. Chrysander was the leading spirit, and F. Volbach the conductor. "Deborah"

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and "Hercules," a Biblical and a secular oratorio, were produced. Owing to the presence of a large number of musicians, leaders, and critics, who had flocked to Mayence from every part of Germany as well as from other countries, the results of these performances were far-reaching. As an illustration of the enthusiasm which prevailed, I append a report written by one of the French critics present, and published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (vol. 130, p. 927):—

"Dupuis les premières journées de Bayreuth, je ne me souviens pas d'avoir assisté à d'aussi belles fêtes. Nous étions tous frémissans de bonheur sous cette prodigieuse musique qui se répandait dans la salle tantôt douloureuse et lente, pénetrée d'une tristesse mortelle, d'autrefois joyeuse d'une joie surhumaine, et toujours également lumineuse et pure, déroulant ses noble lignes comme une frise antique dans l'air transparent du midi."

Despite a few unfavorable comments by captious critics, the movement spread; several German cities being quick to follow the example of Mayence. In 1896, a performance of "Deborah" was given at Hamburg. Shortly after this, the celebrated Riedel Society of Leipzig arranged a series of performances under the direction of that most famous conductor of Handel's music, Dr. H. Kretschmar, professor of music at the University of Leipzig. He is undoubtedly, after Chrysander, the most profound student of Handel's art; and his well-known short biography of the great master is to be recommended to those who prefer a compendious sketch to a more voluminous work.

Kretschmar now arranged for a presentation of the same oratorios that had been given at Mayence. The first of these, "Deborah," was produced on October 18, 1896; but, owing to Prof. Kretschmar's illness, the performance of "Hercules" did not take place until January, 1897. Although the means at the disposal of this German choral society were but small in comparison with the liberal endowment of the Sydenham festivals, its performances, both as regards purity of style and excellence of interpretation, were undoubtedly the best that had taken place since the death of Handel. Shortly afterward, the admirable leader at this festival, Kretschmar, had the misfortune to meet with a serious accident, which permanently incapacitated him for the difficult work of a conductor. The leadership of the Riedel Society was therefore entrusted to his pupil, George Goehler; and upon him our hopes for the future rest.

The next event of importance took place in Hanover. Here, on February 19, 1897, Handel's first oratorio, "Esther," which had never before been heard in Germany, was produced. In his arrangement,

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Chrysander had employed both versions, that of 1720 and that of 1732; combining the best points of each in such a way as to reduce the work to more moderate proportions. So great was the success attained, that the performance was repeated at the "Second Handel Festival" at Mayence, which took place the following summer. On this occasion "Deborah" again appeared on the programme; and it would seem that this oratorio has, until now, met with the most favor. It was given at Dusseldorf in December, 1896, and at Munich in March, 1897. In the latter city it was received with the greatest enthusiasm; notwithstanding the fact that the public had not been prepared for the new style of interpretation The critics of Munich did not seem to have the slightest conception of the matter involved.

In the smaller cities of Germany also, the new style now found acceptance; as, for example, at Coethen, where a performance of "Deborah" was given in the church. This work promises to be the principal attraction at the "Bavarian National Musical Festival," which will take place at Nuremberg during the next week of Pentecost; and it will also be performed at Bâle, Switzerland.

Encouraged by the brilliant successes of "Deborah," Berlin has at last decided to give it a hearing; but those familiar with the conditions which prevail in that city are not sanguine as to the realization of this project.

Less interest has been manifested in the oratorio "Hercules," although it met with great success in Mayence and Leipzig. It may be classed among the best works of the great master; and the fact that it has not been so favorably received as "Deborah" must be attributed to the subject treated, which is not equally congenial to all audiences. Nevertheless, it will be again performed in Hamburg and in Dusseldorf.

A more important event, however, is the projected performance of that work of Handel, which alone has served to perpetuate his name, viz., "The Messiah." It will first be produced by Dr. Goehler and the Riedel Choral Society at Leipzig; and other celebrated choral societies have already organized performances to take place at Frankfort, Cologne, and Augsburg. A circumstance of particular interest in connection with these performances of "The Messiah" is that Chrysander, in his preparation of the score, succeeded in discovering in London a number of modifications and additions to the original by Handel himself. It had hitherto been supposed that Handel had never modified the complete score of "The Messiah"; and Chrysander's discovery has been a surprise to the general public as well as to musicians. I re-

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cently had an opportunity of hearing some of these improved versions of Handel at Bergedorf, the home of Chrysander, and was astonished that the great master could still have improved upon what already appeared perfect. My attention was called particularly to the exquisite setting of the recitative, "And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field."

The haste with which our conductors have ordered the Chrysander edition of "The Messiah" is in itself a proof that the original style of Handel, now resuscitated, has at last been victorious. For this reason, Chrysander, in his introduction to the translation of "The Messiah" (recently published by Breitkopf & Haertel), was justified in saying:

"In Germany, Handel's native land, the form of art which he created was entirely misunderstood and falsely interpreted during the eighteenth century; and the very meagre score of the "Messiah" contributed in great measure to the general misconception as to his true artistic aims. Having at last found the way to the true comprehension of Handel's style, the long period of errors through which we have passed may be considered as closed, and the friends of classical music are now enabled to enjoy the principal works of Handel in all their original purity and strength."

No such performances have as yet been given outside of Germany; and it is doubtful whether any will take place in the near future. We may not secure an early coöperation on the part of England, but feel justified in looking to America for a more independent and active participation. We German musicians know that sufficient talent may be found in the great art-centres of America to ensure model performances such as we have had. It is always with considerable interest that we follow the artistic activity of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Feeling, therefore, that we are in touch with the musical life of America, we take pleasure in informing our colleagues there that a new and brilliant epoch in the history of Handel's art has at last arrived.

BRUNO SCHRADER.

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THE ENGLISH GOVERNING OLIGARCHY.

FROM being regarded as a paradox, it has now become almost a commonplace to say that the English political system is, in many essential particulars, more democratic than the American. It is easier, as Walter Bagehot put it more than thirty years ago, "to find the sovereign people" in Great Britain than in the United States; and it is a great deal less difficult for the sovereign people, when found, to make its will effective.

The English constitution, in spite of the Monarchy and the House of Lords, lacks those checks and balances which interpose so many obstacles to fundamental legislative changes in the United States. In any country having a written constitution, such a measure as either of Mr. Gladstone's Home-Rule bills would have been a practical impossibility without the aid of a revolution. In England, if the electorate were really anxious for so sweeping an enactment, it could be carried in a single session, or at least in two sessions; for it is quite understood that the House of Lords would not oppose a permanent veto to a bill twice passed by a House of Commons elected *ad hoc;* and, if it did, there are expedients by which the ministry of the day could overcome its opposition.

It was said, in 1886 and in 1892, that Queen Victoria might have refused her assent to the proposed law, even if it had passed both Houses. But the Royal veto on legislation is practically in abeyance; and it is hardly conceivable that the Sovereign would have revived it in order to defeat a measure, however distasteful to her, which had been carried more than once by a majority of the Lower House after the voters had had an opportunity of pronouncing in its favor at the ballot-box. In point of fact, Democracy, in the sense of popular command of the Legislature and of the Executive by the mass of the citizens, is, on its face, more complete in Great Britain than in any other country in the world, except, perhaps, France. There is no bar to the unchecked authority of the *demos*, such as is presented in the United States not merely by the Constitution, but by the position of the President, and in the monarchical countries of Continental Europe by the control over administra-

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tion exercised by sovereigns, who are personally the heads of their civil services, as well as the commanders-in-chief of their armies, and practically their own foreign ministers.

In Great Britain, the Executive is absolutely at the mercy of the Legislature; the Legislature consists of delegates of the largest number of the voters; and it is difficult to see what further extensions in the direction of popular government any partisan of Ochlocracy—the rule of the multitude—could devise. Yet, in effect, the multitude does not rule England. It is singular how little the advance of Democracy, in the sense just spoken of, has led to a *δημοκρατία*, in the sense of actual administration by persons belonging to the most numerous classes of the population.

Two things mitigate the power of the Many in Great Britain, and present impalpable, but effectual, barriers to the tide of popular impulse and popular ignorance. One is the existence of the Cabinet, which, in reality, is the key-stone of English government as administered to-day, though it is, as yet, hardly recognized in our political theory, and is unknown to the constitution. Some English writers have said that the main function of the American elector is to choose a despot every four years. It might be replied that, as matters stand, the chief political duty of the British voter is to elect an oligarchy, whose powers are almost unlimited till the time arrives for them to be abandoned. True, the Presidential dictator holds office for a definite term; while the English Cabinet is chosen for a period which is not fixed beforehand. But the Committee, as long as it is allowed to exist, is more powerful than the President. In theory, of course, the House of Commons may dismiss it at any moment, or may cause it to reverse its policy by an adverse vote. But, in modern practice, the House of Commons seldom does this, unless the Cabinet breaks up by internal dissension,—as was the case in 1886, when Mr. Gladstone shattered his ministry over the Irish Home-Rule Bill,—or unless ministers themselves feel that their mandate is exhausted, and voluntarily court defeat. The latter event happened in 1895, when Lord Rosebery went out of office, after a hostile division on a minor question of departmental administration in a half-empty House. In a general way, however, it is true to say that in our time the House of Commons does not defeat its ministers on points involving the existence of a cabinet.

The remedy of punishing a cabinet by a vote of censure, or by throwing out a government bill of importance, is in the hands of the House; but it is tending more and more to take the place of the old—

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and never formally abandoned—expedient of impeachment, and to be regarded as a valuable prerogative to be used only in extreme cases. No doubt ministers are constantly defeated in committee debates in which the details of bills are discussed; but this seldom happens except on comparatively small points on which they themselves are not unwilling to give way. Otherwise, and so long as they are not guilty of corruption or gross misconduct, they are fairly safe in the House until such time as a long series of unfavorable by-elections has altered the balance of parties at Westminster, or convinced ministers that they have lost the confidence of the electors out of doors. Till one of these things happens, the Cabinet has practical immunity in the Lower House, and for a very simple reason: the ministers are the nominees, not of the House as a whole, but only of the Majority; and, naturally, the Majority does not want to defeat itself and confer a victory on the Opposition.

An English premier has the whip-hand over followers inclined to mutiny, by threatening them with a dissolution. Now, a dissolution means a general election; and a general election means a certain expenditure of several hundred pounds sterling on the part of each Member of Parliament who desires reëlection, and a possible loss of seats for a good many of them. Whatever may be the motives which induce a man to enter Parliament, he desires, as a rule, to hold his seat as long as possible; and a contested election can have no charms for him. It may entail the loss of the seat for which he has paid much in time, labor, and money; it must, in any case, involve the outlay of a large sum in the way of election expenses; and, since electors are fickle, and the political pendulum has an awkward trick of swinging back after it has swung forward, it is the Minority party—the party out of power—which has more to gain than its opponents by an appeal to the ballot. For these reasons, the House—that is the Majority of the House—will not overthrow a minister if it can help it, and certainly will not risk the unpleasant consequences just alluded to, except on matters of very grave importance. Therefore, unless a premier wounds too violently the feelings of his followers, as Mr. Gladstone did when he proposed to dissolve the Union, he can do pretty much as he pleases, within well-understood limits. This is particularly the case in the conduct of administration.

To a careful student of the modern English political system, nothing is more interesting than to observe how largely the time-honored and much-cherished control of Parliament over the Executive has

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dwindled in recent years. It is open to any member to challenge a minister on any departmental matter; and, as a means of getting the subject noticed in the press and at public meetings, the method is useful and efficacious. But, unless there is revealed some gross abuse, serious enough to rouse indignation against the Cabinet as a whole, the minister can usually defy these parliamentary assaults. If they come from the Opposition, they count for nothing; they are part of the game; and their supporters prepare themselves beforehand to be beaten. But, suppose a ministerial M. P. is dissatisfied with something done by the Secretary for India, or by the Secretary for War, or by any other minister, and brings in a hostile motion on the subject. The party whip has only to intimate that the Cabinet will resign if this motion be carried, to make it fairly certain that the motion will *not* be carried; for the rank and file of the Majority are not likely to put their own leaders out of office, and subject themselves to all the consequent inconveniences, because one particular member of the Cabinet may have made a mistake on some item in the complex working of his department.

The bonds of party discipline and the peculiar efficacy of the General-Election threat are, in practice, though certainly not yet in theory, sufficiently forcible to deprive the Commons of much of their ancient hold on administration, and to give extraordinary freedom and a large amount of irresponsibility to the executive government of the day.

This is the strongest check on the possible abuse of democratic power in the modern British system. It is a much more effectual check than either the Crown or the House of Lords; and its efficiency is increased by the constitution of the Cabinet and the character of its members. An English ministry is, while it lasts, a very strong committee of government; but it is something besides that. It is also the committee of the Government Oligarchy, or rather it is one of its committees; for there is an alternative committee of the same oligarchy, which is always ready to become the cabinet of the opposing party.

Here, I am aware, I am using language and expressing ideas which may seem paradoxical or fanciful to those, whether Englishmen or foreigners, who are more familiar with the theory and formulæ of the constitution than with its working realities. Theoretically, of course,—indeed in the view of most Englishmen,—any man can become a member of the Cabinet just as he can become a Member of Parliament. There is no formal bar to prevent it. The road is open to all British

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subjects; and, so far as any positive enactments or prohibitions are concerned, it should be no more impossible for a rail-splitter or a country attorney to become Prime Minister of England than for a person of the same condition to attain to the Presidency of the United States. But we talk here not of possibilities, but of actualities; and, as a matter of fact, it is rare, and it has been rare at any time during this century, for a man, not a member of one of the aristocratic or territorial families, nor closely associated, by wealth, education, and social connections, with the circle that includes those families, to enter the Cabinet of Great Britain. In other words, he must belong to what has been correctly described as the Governing Order; for such an Order there is in England. It consists, roughly speaking, of the peerage and its offshoots, the great landowners and county families, and the comparatively limited number of wealthy persons of the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional classes, who are admitted to what is called "Society." In fact, Society, in this sense of the word, is almost conterminous with the Governing Class. It would be difficult to say what constitutes exactly the qualification for membership of this select body. Birth, wealth, leisure, are no doubt the main requisites. Without at least one, and preferably more than one, of the three, it is difficult to enter the circle.

Fortunately for itself, and fortunately for the country, the aristocracy in England has never been a caste. In these matters, mankind is ruled by names; and nothing has worked more usefully than the custom—for, as it happens, it is no more than a custom—by which honorary titles do not attach to the descendants of the younger children of English peers. It might have become the fashion for every child, grandchild, and great-grandchild of a baron or viscount to be called "Lord" or "Lady" to the end of time. As it is, the younger son of a lord is only "The Honorable"; and *his* son is plain "Mr." Thus the scion of a noble house merges into the upper stratum of the commonalty.

At the same time the wealthy and successful member of the *haute bourgeoisie* is not debarred from entering the ranks of the aristocracy. The process is usually performed in the second or third generation. The son of the rich contractor, or manufacturer, or mine-owner, is sent to Eton and Christ Church, marries the daughter of one of the territorial families, enters Parliament, and, in course of time, may receive a peerage himself. The Governing Class has assimilated him.

The influence of wealth is as potent in Great Britain as anywhere else; but there is no plutocracy. The latter becomes absorbed in the body—mainly aristocratic in its ideas and associations, though not ex-

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clusively aristocratic by origin—which constitutes Society, and adds to its wealth and importance.

It is only fair to remember that the ruling clique has never shown itself averse to the recognition of ability. The clever professional man is occasionally admitted, though not, as a rule, till his cleverness has taken the form of actual pecuniary success; and here and there a mere outsider, like Canning, or Disraeli, has forced himself in, by sheer weight of genius. Even in these exceptional cases, however, the outsider enters, as it were, by favor of the Society Oligarchy. The instances are rare indeed, where a poor man has been able to rise to a leading place in politics without influential connections, and without being "taken up" in London drawing-rooms. The case of John Bright, and perhaps that of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, may be quoted as those of very able men, who scaled the political heights by the truly democratic method of impressing their personality upon the masses of their fellow-citizens. But even these cases are those of rich men; and both statesmen, before they attained to the rank of Cabinet Minister, had been distinctly accepted by Society. Manchester and Birmingham sent them into politics; but it was London—the West End of London—which placed them among the rulers of the Empire.

We have, then, this actually large, but relatively rather small, Governing Class, consisting, as I have said, of the few thousand representatives of the nobility, landowners, capitalists, and successful professional men who make up London society. No constitutional rule or precedent prescribes that ministers shall be appointed from this set of persons. But, from the circumstances of the case, they usually are so appointed. The electorate itself is far too amorphous, too scattered, and too ill-organized to perform the process of selection; and there is nothing in England corresponding to the party conventions by which candidates for the Presidency of the United States are nominated. When the result of a general election has decided that one of the two great parties is to enter office, the Queen sends for the statesman who is the most conspicuous figure in this political group, and commissions him to form a ministry. This personage, whether he be a great nobleman, like Lord Salisbury or the Duke of Devonshire, or a distinguished commoner, like Mr. Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt, has passed most of his life—even if he has not been actually "born in the purple"—within the innermost recesses of London society. He is usually advanced in years (Lord Rosebery is the only recent instance of a middle-aged premier); he is generally wealthy, and often titled; and he is closely con-

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nected, if not by ties of blood and marriage, at least by long and intimate association, with the most exclusive sets in the capital. He himself may be, and probably is, altogether above the worship of wealth, rank, and fashion. Yet the conditions of his life make it difficult for him to break away from the circle. His opportunities do not allow him to consort much with people who are poor, unknown, and obscure. When he has to make up his ministry he naturally consults his own little court of friends, followers, and allies; and *they* naturally press the claims of their own associates,—the men whom they meet at London luncheons and dinners and fashionable country-house parties, who call each other by their Christian names, who have been educated at the same little group of public schools and colleges, and have pretty freely intermarried with each other's relatives. What wonder if the distribution of offices falls largely to the members of this body?

About one-third, perhaps one-half, of the ministry is made up of the Premier's political associates and supporters among the peerage. The remainder comes from the House of Commons; and since, as a rule, one fairly well-educated and capable Englishman is as well able to perform the duties of a public department as another, especially when assisted by an admirable, permanent civil service, no great harm is done, and public feeling is not outraged, by the fact that social influences largely determine the choice. A conspicuous party leader, who had strikingly impressed himself upon the House and the nation, might have to be admitted, whether he belonged to the right set or not. But such men are rare. The public is not specially concerned in asserting the claims of one member of the House of Commons rather than another to Cabinet office. It has done its duty at the polls by practically appointing A and his party to the government, in preference to B and his following; and it is quite content to leave the constitution of the executive committee, and the allocation of the posts in it, to the leader and his advisers. The power is exercised on condition that it be not grossly abused. Provided the men appointed are respectable, upright, and fairly competent politicians, of good private character, and of some experience in public life, the nation is satisfied. It finds its business, on the whole, honestly and efficiently managed; and it would not be at all perturbed by the fact, even if it realized it, which it does not, that the persons who manage it are selected from a limited class and largely by favoritism and private influence.

A glance at the composition of any English ministry will show how little the popular element is concerned in the matter. Lord Salisbury's

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Cabinet consists of eighteen members, besides the Premier, who is also Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The President of the Council is the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the great house of Cavendish, lord of Chatsworth and a few other palaces, and the owner of vast estates and a splendid income. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is Earl Cadogan, another great landlord, not less wealthy than the Duke of Devonshire; a friend of the Prince of Wales, and a leader of London society. The First Lord of the Treasury is Mr. Arthur Balfour, nephew of Lord Salisbury, and the owner of a large estate in Scotland and a house in Carlton Terrace. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, belongs to an old county family, and is a West Country squire and landowner. Sir Matthew White-Ridley, the Home Secretary, is a Northumbrian baronet of great wealth. Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Akers-Douglas, who preside respectively over the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Board of Works, are all well-endowed and aristocratically connected county gentlemen; and in the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord George Hamilton, brother of the Duke of Abercorn, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretaries for War, India, and Scotland, respectively, we have three more members or connections of the peerage.

For representatives of anything like a middle-class element, we are reduced to Mr. Goschen and Mr. Ritchie,—two wealthy partners, or ex-partners, in large mercantile and financial houses in the British metropolis,—and Mr. Chamberlain, who, though once a Birmingham manufacturer, is now among the most popular, and at the same time the most exclusive, entertainers of fashionable London. There are, of course, the lawyers—the Lord Chancellors of England and of Ireland, and Lord James, who is Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. All three are now peers, and are favorable examples of that higher professional element, which so often ends in absorption into the aristocratic class. Among the subordinate members of the ministry, outside the Cabinet, are a duke, three earls, and two more nephews of Lord Salisbury.

This is a Conservative cabinet; and it may, perhaps, be said that rank and property would naturally be largest on the side of the Tories. But matters are not so very different with the Liberals. Here is Lord Rosebery's Cabinet of 1894-95, with the status of its members:—

Earl of Rosebery.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Earl of Kimberley.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Marquess of Ripon.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Lord Tweedmouth.....Peer and wealthy landowner.

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Earl Spencer	Peer and wealthy landowner.
Lord Herschell	Successful lawyer.
Mr. Asquith	Successful lawyer.
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman	Son of a wealthy Scotch manufacturer and landowner.
Sir William Harcourt	Member of a great and highly aristocratic county family.
Sir George Trevelyan	Baronet and head of old county family.
Sir Henry Fowler	Wealthy solicitor.
Mr. John Morley	Journalist and man of letters.
Mr. Arnold Morley	Son of a very wealthy manufacturer.
Mr. James Bryce	Distinguished jurist and professor.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre	Landowner, nephew of a peer, and connected by marriage with another noble family.
Mr. A. H. D. Acland	Member of an old and a well-known county family.

Literature and learning were a little better represented in the Liberal Cabinet, in the persons of Mr. Morley and Mr. Bryce. Otherwise, it was not really much more "popular" in its composition than its predecessor. Birth, wealth, and social influence were among the qualifications of two-thirds of its members. They were, of course, not the only qualifications; yet it is plain that they were allowed to weigh as heavily in determining the selection as in the case of the rival ministry. It would be invidious to mention particular names; but no one who knows English politics will be prepared to maintain that at least four or five of Lord Rosebery's ministers were persons who could have been nominated beforehand on their public form for place in the Cabinet. They were included because they happened to be known and favorably regarded in the right quarters. It is not a process of jobbery; for it does not happen that bad or incapable men are corruptly given posts for which they are unfit; but oligarchical, in its essence, it certainly is.

The system on the whole works so well, however, that there is no reason to condemn it. Its strong point is, that it provides a class of public men, who, taken altogether, are very adequately equipped for their business. Their wealth and standing place them beyond all suspicion of the coarser kind of corruption; they are sufficiently above the need of earning a livelihood to be able to enter active politics in the prime of life; and, from their position in society, they grow early accustomed to deal with affairs in the spirit of men of the world. Some of the younger ministers and under-secretaries in the present Cabinet, like Mr. George Curzon and Mr. St. John Brodrick, have been practically trained for administration from their boyhood, by a long course of

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study, by travel, and by an early apprenticeship to the House of Commons; so that, as they near forty, they have acquired an experience with which the middle-class man—who enters Parliament about that age—cannot be expected to cope. Politics, to be well managed, must, as a rule, be in the hands of those who devote a great deal of time and attention to it. The difficulty of a Democracy lies in inducing a sufficient number of fairly honest and fairly capable men to undertake public duties without the temptation or the hope of unlimited spoils. The English system at least goes some way toward overcoming this difficulty.

On the other hand, the increasing power of the Cabinet and the Cabinet Oligarchy is not without some danger. Ministers, as I have attempted to show, are no longer controlled by a firm, vigilant, and independent House of Commons: on the contrary, the House is rather the servant than the master of the Cabinet. Ministerial responsibility—the great check on the abuse or mismanagement of executive power—is much less of a reality than it is assumed to be. It is true that a minister who makes mistakes in the administration of his department may be turned out of office at the next general election. But then he knows quite well that, whether he performs his official duties well or badly, the same fate is likely to overtake him.

It has become almost an accepted axiom of English politics, that the verdict of a general election is against the party in office. For an English cabinet to receive a second term, will soon be as rare as for an American President to obtain a third extension of authority. But, if the ministry goes out, its members, as a matter of course, cannot be expected to regard their dismissal as a punishment which may be averted by persistent good conduct in their official capacity. They do not so regard it; nor does anybody else. The fallen minister is assuredly haunted by no sense of disgrace or failure, and is treated with more respect by nearly half his countrymen than the minister who has stepped into his shoes. Besides, he knows that before long the pendulum will swing back again; and that, if he still cares for office, he may return to his Cabinet post and his seat on the Ministerial Bench. Meanwhile, being probably a rich man, and at any rate a man with numerous interests outside politics, he can employ his leisure pleasantly enough.

Thus, it happens, that a member of the English Governing Oligarchy may regard success or failure in politics with an equanimity not easily attained by politicians in some other countries. Success, if it comes to

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him, is not so intoxicating as it might be to one to whom public life had given everything that was worth having: failure, if it is mortifying or unpleasant for the moment, leaves him with so many consolations that he can endure it with a great deal of philosophy. If the English minister or ex-minister has sometimes made himself, by choice and predilection, a professional politician, as many English gentlemen will almost make themselves professional cricketers or cross-country riders, he still remains in many essential respects only an influential amateur. He does not commonly live by the altar. The loss of the ministerial salary may hardly cause him to put down his town-house or curtail his establishment; the abandonment of the ministerial office may possibly deprive him of occupation that he enjoys; but it does not make a cipher of him, as it often does, for instance, in France, where *M. le Ministre*, when he gives up his portfolio, may be nothing more than an obscure journalist or mediocre lawyer. An English minister is often so important a personage socially, that his political position makes comparatively little difference to him, one way or the other. His great estates, his town- and country-houses, his marquisate or his earldom, his horses, his hunting and shooting, his learned societies and public bodies, his libraries, his collections, and his friends must go a long way toward filling up the gap left by the loss of a ministerial portfolio.

The English system, as it works out in practice, robs public life of much of the bitterness which characterizes it elsewhere. But there is some truth in the criticism, that it tends to deprive politics of its seriousness and to make it too much like an agreeable and carefully regulated game, played by rival teams of wealthy and well-placed amateurs, in the intervals of many other occupations and amusements.

SIDNEY LOW.

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PROFESSOR MÜNSTERBERG'S ATTACK ON EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY.

A STRANGE discord breaks upon our ears from over the fair New England hills,—words out of harmony with the whole educational spirit of our times and with the fair pedagogic record of the great university from which they come; words inconsistent both among themselves and with their author's own position in educational matters. In the February "Atlantic Monthly," there appeared an article, entitled "The Danger from Experimental Psychology," in which Prof. Münsterberg, late of Europe, now of New England, tells the teachers of this country, in tones of authority, that, if they value their pedagogic lives, they will never again set foot within a psychological laboratory.

It is well known that, in the past, the types of education have always been determined, more or less directly, by university ideals and university patterns. One of the most hopeful things for public education at the present time is the fact that public-school teachers themselves are ready and willing to turn to the university for guidance in their daily tasks. An opportunity has thus come into the hands of universities of directly moulding educational development,—an opportunity greater than they ever possessed in the past. The colleges and universities have nobly responded to the opportunity; and, as a result, we are in the midst of most significant and far-reaching changes in the educational world. Prof. Münsterberg has not realized the inspiration of the hour. He misses the whole spirit of modern science and American science teaching. He betrays a low ideal of what teaching should be, and an almost intentional ignorance of schoolroom work. He tells us we can't do this and we can't do that, when we are doing these very things every day.

His words are out of harmony with the spirit of the institution in whose name he speaks. Among all American universities none is more revered in the annals of education than Harvard. It is impossible to recount here what she has done for the schools of the country, in sending out schoolmasters, developing academies, and standing at the head of one of our best and most influential State systems of education.

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Shall her representative in the most modern methods of studying mental phenomena, her representative in the science that comes closest to the schoolroom, attempt to crush the rising spirit of the American teacher, awakened so largely by her own efforts?

Moreover, this same ancient institution grants university degrees for work in certain courses in education, which are open to those students only who have taken a half-year course in psychology under this guardian of the American teacher. Shall we suppose that naught but strict verbal description and introspective analysis enters into this instruction, when the text used incorporates many results of actual experiments, albeit well saturated with theoretical interpretations? Certainly in very recent years, courses in experimental psychology, under the direction of our critic, were included in the pamphlet describing the courses on education which this university offers to teachers. And it is not long since the writer had the pleasure of seeing the rooms of this department filled with teachers who were pursuing this same subject under the direction of this same critic and his able assistants. Now we hear from the head of the department that these courses, so far as teachers are concerned, are all nonsense.

Furthermore, the words are out of harmony among themselves, and out of accord with our critic's own position in educational matters. We are told that it is not possible to "measure psychical facts," that it never will be possible, and that, in the nature of the case, teachers have nothing to hope for from the psychological laboratory; and, in the next breath, that the time *will* come when "practical educational suggestions" will be forthcoming. We are told that the results of experimental psychology are, for the teacher, "meaningless bits," and again that "there are few sciences that they will find so attractive." The teachers are told that this science is dangerous, and may "do them harm"; and again they are urged to "devote to it their free time." We meet with the strange argument that a bad book has appeared, and that, therefore, the teacher should avoid psychology. Fierce criticisms of this same book are brought forward, only to prove imaginary. We learn with surprise that the teacher who is interested in the new methods of psychology must, therefore, forget all that has been done hitherto in that science. We meet with the spectacle of a man devoted to psychology neglecting the most fruitful field for its cultivation.

But, aside from their inconsistency, we are surprised at the words of our critic because of his own contribution to the teachers' work. In more than one way has he contributed directly to their needs. In

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fact, the writer of this article upon the dangers of experimental psychology is the sole deviser of a set of psychological apparatus, such as color-tops, illusion-cards, and the like, designed by him especially because of their pedagogic value in furthering psychological experiments in the public schools.

But what of these dangers which threaten the teacher? Any intelligent reflection on the equipment and tasks of the teachers of the present day shows that they are, in truth, surrounded by many and serious dangers,—dangers arising from the political and social limitations which continually hedge their way; dangers of opposing the wishes of parents, the authority of the state, or the convictions of the church; dangers arising from the multiplicity of aims which they attempt to realize, and which are determined by the past and present conflicting ideas of education and by the teacher's own conception of the educational ideal; dangers from over-work, incident to the present tendency to increase the demands upon the teacher's energy; dangers of becoming mechanical, of losing sight of their high ideals, and of finding their work a burden instead of a pleasure; and, above all, the danger of not being able to find time for their own studies. The standards of the teaching profession are rapidly rising. The equipment which suffices for the teachers of to-day will not be sufficient for the teachers of to-morrow; so that those who cannot, in some measure, lay hold upon the enlarging opportunities must be left behind. We do not dispute the title-claim of Prof. Münsterberg. The teaching fraternity of this country stands amid many and dangerous pitfalls.

But none of these dangers, nor all of them together, would warrant our critic in the choice of words so direful,—words that remind us of those which years ago thundered forth from these same New England hills, portraying the terrors of future punishment. We are told that the doctrines of experimental psychology are "dangerous"; that these doctrines have already found wide acceptance, and are being rapidly spread by a new book; that "the attitude of this book is dangerous"; that "its acceptance arises from illusions and confusions"; that it is "high time to give the danger-signal"; that "a warning ought to be sounded against this rush toward experimental psychology"; that the time has come when "the discussion should no longer be confined to narrow educational quarters, as the whole country has to suffer for every educational sin"! Such expressions as these would indicate that the perils of experimental psychology must be even greater than any we have mentioned. The teachers of our land must be treading on the very

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verge of the bottomless pit, into which they are about to plunge, drawing after them the youth of our land.

It behooves us, in view of the gravity of the situation, to examine carefully, and in order of importance, the dangers that are here mentioned. First, the teachers are in danger of finding themselves the victims of "misled curiosity" and "a logical mistake,"—surely not mortal sins. Second, there is danger that experimental psychology will "confuse them and inhibit their normal teacher's instinct." Third, there is danger of their finding that experimental psychology "will not help them in their work as teachers more than astronomy or geology." Fourth, there is danger that, after this terrible disappointment, the reaction will be "painful and overwhelming." But the American teacher is courageous; and every trifling disappointment does not plunge him or her into pedagogical suicide. Last, there is danger that, once having been deceived by experimental psychology, the American teacher will, in disgust, give up psychology altogether. The idea of the American teacher abandoning psychology at this late day is humorous.

What of this book from Yale,—this book so exceedingly bad, that, simply on account of its appearance, all teachers ought forever to avoid the science which it has desecrated? Surely there is nothing in the science itself that is dangerous? Pure science can never harm one. Surely the small size of the book does not make it bad? There is no sin in condensation. Nor is there a science whose results cannot be expressed in language that the layman can understand. Is it bad because it is a pioneer? There must always be pioneers while there is progress. No; the sole charge brought against the book is one of broken promises. Its author repeatedly promises certain things which he never gives us. This, however, is by no means a rare failing in the making of books. But does the failing exist in the present instance? Does the author anywhere promise us the "space of sensations," as distinguished from the "sensations of space"? Does he promise us the "time of sensations," as distinguished from the "sensations of time"? Does he anywhere promise us the "energy of sensations," as contrasted with the "sensations of energy," in the sense in which our critic makes the distinction? Far from it. On the contrary, an entire page is in fact taken up in denying this anticipated criticism *in toto*. The author deliberately proposes to use the word "sensation" in its every-day sense, without any reference whatever to things or to sensations in themselves. He says plainly that he proposes to call the line which he draws on paper one of his sensations, and to call the yard-stick with which he

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measures this line another of his sensations. Any man has a right to choose his own language, so long as he makes himself clear.

Undoubtedly, taken by themselves, these introductions to the several sections of the book in which the author analyzes mental phenomena in their relation to space, time, and energy might be misleading. But to imagine that the author claims to measure disembodied sensations, apart from the physical organism, is simply ludicrous. It is certainly absurd to think of measuring pure mental states by themselves; but it is even more absurd to imagine that any intelligent psychologist pretends to make the attempt in this day and generation. If we have not advanced beyond this, psychology is indeed in the sixteenth-century stage!

Aside from these so-called promises, which, all told, make scarcely a dozen of the five hundred pages of the book, and which really have nothing whatever to do with its main effort, the impression which our critic leaves with us is one of approval. In general, we agree with him, albeit the book has many real faults which are overshadowed in the mind of our critic by this imaginary one of broken promises. It partially meets a deep-felt want.

Experimental psychology is at the point of passing into the text-book stage, a vital point in the history of any science,—a period of transformation from chaos into order. In this process, the book in question marks a decided advance. Our critic is quite right in saying that it will go into the hands of a large number of teachers by whom it will be welcomed. It will also meet the same reception at the hands of many a college professor. It will do a useful service until a better one shall appear to take its place. Let us be thankful that there is one man bold enough to experiment in making books at this stage of our science. Let us welcome such light as we have. Let us correct error by truth. The wiser way for our critic to counteract the evil effects of the present book is to write a better one.

Granted that the Yale laboratory is the psychological gateway of all unwholesome things, surely this cannot be said of Harvard's? Teachers may there find a safe retreat, where they may enjoy the advantages of the newer aspects of psychology without endangering their pedagogic lives by attempts at measuring psychical facts. Vain hope! Here comes the answer:—

"This rush toward experimental psychology is an absurdity. Our laboratory work cannot teach you anything which is of direct use to you in your work as teachers. . . . You may collect thousands of experimental results with the

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chronoscope and the kymograph; but you will not find anything in our laboratories which you could translate directly into a pedagogical prescription. The figures deceive you. There is no measurement of psychical facts. . . ."

If mental measurements are not being made in the Harvard laboratory, pray, forsooth, what is being done? What mean those long columns of figures that appear so regularly? What means that vast assemblage of delicate apparatus? Give us a short, convenient term to describe all of this varied activity, and I will vouch for its ready adoption by every experimental psychologist throughout the land. For we are all doing precisely the same things in precisely the same way and with identically the same apparatus. Do not let us stultify ourselves before the world by quarrelling over simple names. It may make us appear learned; but such wisdom is logomachian. Talk to the teachers about not being able to measure mental ability, when half their life is spent in reading examination papers; when classes must be graded, pupils promoted, credit marks made out in accordance with a careful estimate of mental ability! We may not be able to measure pure sensations in feet and inches; but we can arrange children in order of sensitiveness. We may not be able to weigh naked ideas in a scale-pan, but we can *count* them. We can tell whether a given child has one, two, or twenty ideas; and under given conditions, we can tell how the ideas *vary* from year to year, as regards sex, nationality, and differing conditions of heredity, environment, and education.

I firmly maintain that mental measurements,—using the term fairly,—*are* possible, and that the teacher *is* justified in expecting great things from experimental psychology; not from an experimental psychology with narrow ideas; not from a psychology that calls itself "new," for the sake of despising the old; not from a psychology so egotistical that it cannot recognize other sciences; not from a "Sunday newspaper psychology"; not from a "psychology without a soul"; not from the mistakes that have masqueraded under that name; not from crude and blind attempts at the impossible; not from the "sending of ships to Utopia" to measure the immeasurable or to find a world outside of space and time; not from the petty bickerings about trifles, which have had altogether too much attention in the brief history of our science,—not from any of these, but from the essential genius, the rising spirit of psychology, with its broader and larger view, with its healthy life-blood coursing through its veins and thrilling it with possibilities; at times struggling onward and upward unmindful of the direction, and again catching sight of the promises of the future; always

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feeling that there is a meaning in its own activities and a work for it to do, ever in harmony with the broadest views of philosophy and history, and with an intelligent and helpful attitude toward the present condition of nations, and their social, intellectual, and religious problems. In short, the same old psychology in a new form, under the magic touch of modern science. Experimental psychology with this spirit contains the promise and potency of great assistance for law, medicine, and theology, and greater still for pedagogy, not in the dim and distant future, but here and now.

Our critic speaks in tones of authority: not as "a man whose heart belongs to an old-fashioned, forgotten past," but "as the director of the Harvard Psychological Laboratory,—as a man who devotes his life to the most modern methods of psychology. . . ." I, too, speak with the integrity of strong convictions; not as an upstart, or as one who is in the throes of a thesis for the doctorate, but as one who, pursuant to a call, has been for four years treading these dangerous paths.

Called from this self-same Yale, to take charge of this work in the New York University School of Pedagogy, in response to a wide-spread demand for this kind of work on the part of the teachers of this country, when, so far as these practical ends were concerned, the whole field lay open, chaotic, and unformed, I came face to face with the self-same difficulties that now prompt our critic to sound the danger-signal. Since then, I have carried on a course in experimental psychology of four hours a week, side by side with a similar course in analytical psychology in charge of another professor. I have worked single-handed and under serious technical difficulties in silence hitherto. But now I feel that the experience of these four years entitles me to express my convictions.

Not only have I found this course devoid of danger to the students, but helpful in many ways. As far as scientific training is concerned, I feel that it offers them all the advantages to be derived from any laboratory. In my opinion, it gives them better insight into introspective methods and a better understanding of analytical psychology, especially in the many points where it has been influenced by scientific methods. It gives them an understanding of the literature of the subject, a comprehensive view of the problems that are facing us, of the work that is being done, and of the directions in which to look for development. It prepares them to follow this work intelligently, to appropriate its results in the future, and to contribute to its development. Meanwhile, it gives them no small number of practical results, which have already produced marked effects in the schoolroom.

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During these four years scores of teachers, principals, and superintendents have taken the work. Of these one-half are college graduates, and the other half, graduates of the normal school. Of all this number, not one has shown any toxic effects from experimental psychology; not one is suffering the everlasting torments of a "misplaced confidence." On the contrary, many evidences of the value of the teaching and training of this course have come from a score of States throughout the Union.

It is true that the results of practical value to the teacher, as yet reached by the psychological laboratories, are comparatively small. We may turn the pages of scores of volumes of the great psychological periodicals and find only a handful of titles that are even suggestive of educational themes. Nevertheless, the work is well under way. At the present time, nearly every laboratory is reporting at least one investigation along pedagogical lines. Collections of such monographs have already begun to appear regularly; and individual investigations are being reported from France, Germany, and various parts of America.

Among all this work none is more suggestive than that of the laboratory whence come these notes of warning. In the first three volumes of the "Psychological Review," we notice among the "Harvard Studies" the following titles: "Memory" (two articles); "The Intensifying Effect of Attention"; "The Motor Power of Ideas"; "Association" (two articles); "Æsthetics of Simple Forms"; "The Place of Repetition in Memory"; "Fluctuations of Attention." All these investigations were reported by our critic himself, while in charge of the laboratory. During his absence we have had "Studies in Sensation and Judgment," and, in a recent number, "Effects of the Study for Examinations on the Nervous and Mental Condition of Female Students." Many of the other reports contain pedagogical suggestions not indicated by their titles.

Reports equally suggestive for the teacher have come from other laboratories. Does our critic discredit, for instance, the patient and enduring labor of Prof. Cattell at Columbia, who is subjecting hundreds of students to laboratory tests, in the hope of securing definite knowledge respecting normal and abnormal sequences in the academic experiences of adolescence?

We may expect research work of educational value in all directions of mental activity—studies in sensations, sight, hearing, touch; studies of ideas with reference to their number and quality as influenced by

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age, sex, temperament, and educational influences; studies in memory, with reference to the effects of schooling; studies of practice, fatigue, interest, home-training, heredity, and environment, or with reference to the dependence of mental activity upon eye, ear, muscle, or skin sensations; studies upon voluntary and involuntary attention, illusions, suggestibility, the laws of association, and so on, without limit. But, aside from these more technical laboratory problems, experimental psychology must furnish the methods and take the lead in directing educational experiments upon a far broader scale; viz., experiments in the schoolroom, to determine the effect of different systems of teaching reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, drawing, and other subjects; experiments to determine the effect of different subjects and different methods upon pupils of different ages, of different mental and physical equipment, or of different environment;—experiments, in short, to determine the normal individual and his pedagogic possibilities. Such experiments as these must lead inevitably to the rewriting of text-books and to revolution in methods. Thus, not suddenly but slowly, will the efforts of our laboratories be translated "into a pedagogical prescription."

Our critic finally stands forth as the bold champion fighting against pseudo-science. Here, at least, we stand shoulder to shoulder. But I fear that we have more occasion to deplore the presence of pseudo-science in university circles than in the schoolroom. There is no practical value, even from the standpoint of pure science, in counting the grains of sand upon the seashore, no matter how regularly, patiently, and carefully it is done. Too many of our scientific pages are filled with such work; nor is it entirely absent from the works on psychology. Scientific work, to be of value, must have a more or less definite relation to ideal ends. Teachers, whatever else they may be, are practical. They are gifted with a wonderful amount of common sense. This is true at least of those with whom I have had the pleasure of coming in contact in the psychological laboratory. They have no interest in work that is not practical, at least in the light of scientific ideals. Surely no science should fear to be tested by the criterion of the practical. Even though experimental psychology should penetrate not only the normal school, but, what is more than possible, even the high school, the grammar school, the primary school, and the kindergarten, it need not, therefore, lose its scientific character.

Moreover, I am in hearty accord with our critic as to developing science for the sake of science; and while I think him unfortunate in

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failing to see that our science does have practical value for the great sea of life surging around the teacher, yet I feel that he is still more unfortunate in failing to recognize the practical contributions which this great educational movement is making to psychology. The value of the mind of the pupil is as great as that of the adult, and as worthy an object of scientific effort.

One of the most pressing needs of psychology is development along genetic lines,—a better understanding of how the human mind changes from year to year in passing from birth to manhood,—equally for the sake of a better understanding of the adult mind and for the rounding out of the science itself. This is the psychology the teachers want; and they stand ready to help in its development. Time was, when the psychologist who meddled with "child-study" did so at the peril of his professional reputation. The time has now come when the psychologist ought to welcome the teacher's assistance.

We would fain believe that the "rising flood of fashion" is not all wrong. The signs of the times point to a rapid development of the practical side of experimental psychology. The universities ought to turn their attention to directing this movement and to raising up leaders; and it is unwise for a professor to frighten away the eager teachers with strange tales of danger and with intimations that they are unable to grasp simple facts of science. But our teachers are generous and open-hearted. They will not long cherish ill-will at these reflections upon their mental capacity. They will prove their mettle and show their strength. And they hope that their critic will catch the spirit and enthusiasm of the American teacher, and add his efforts to bring about that glorious future which he so earnestly desires shall be theirs. May we again hear accordant words from over the fair New England hills.

CHARLES B. BLISS.

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IS THERE WORK ENOUGH FOR ALL?

Is there work enough for all? Granted that you have proved that the production of the nation as a whole increases steadily with the adoption of new inventions in machinery and the application of the powers of steam and electricity, does not all this progress involve the displacement of the laborer? Where a thousand seamstresses were once employed in the manufacture of clothing, one hundred only were needed after the invention of the sewing-machine. Where a thousand blacksmiths' apprentices were needed to make nails by hand, one only is needed now with the machine that makes them out of steel wire. What becomes of the nine hundred seamstresses and the nine hundred and ninety-nine nailmakers thus thrown out of employment? If agricultural machinery enables one man to do what six did in former times, what happens to the five not needed for agricultural production? All along the line machinery is pushing out the laborer from the work for which he has been preparing himself since infancy. Scarcely any of the old trades, which required seven years' apprenticeship, can avoid the fate which mechanical invention forces upon them. Some ingenious devices, or a series of such devices, are deftly inserted in place of the living hand, and the occupation of the workman, skilled by long apprenticeship, is gone. Is not this a fair statement of the danger?

Again, since machinery is and must be owned by capital, or, rather, since machinery is capital, is not modern invention placing a great power in the hands of the capitalists and proportionately removing it from the common laborer? The poor toiler is set aside for the machine, and thrown into a struggle of competition with his fellows for the directorship of the machine, the only occupation left to him; the competition necessarily being a sharp one because comparatively few hands are needed to tend machines. In this struggle it would seem obvious that the result would be to lower the wages of the poor man, because he must compete with machinery, if he attempts to continue his trade.

Moreover, there is another side to be considered. The age of machinery is the age of the growth of cities. The building of mills for various kinds of manufacturing necessarily aggregates populations, first

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into villages, and then into cities. Similarly the machinery of transportation—the locomotive and the steamboat—brings with it the formation of villages and cities at all points of collection and distribution. This ushers in what we call the urban form of civilization. But is not the crowding of people into cities to be deplored? Is not the urban form of civilization necessarily connected with slums and the clustering of the weaklings of society into large masses which make possible the corrupt rule of the demagogue? Think of the puny children who live in small, ill-ventilated rooms, and who have no access to green fields and fresh air! In short, is not this increase of urban life almost as bad as the other evil of labor-saving machinery, the crowding out of the laborer by the machine?

Here we have two phases of the great problem of modern industry. The first is the readjustment of vocations; and the second is the removal of the evils of urban life. In this article, I shall devote myself to a consideration of the first.

Is there work enough to go round, provided human invention continues to produce useful machinery to an unlimited extent, and to conquer the forces of nature and make them useful to man by new motive powers? The answer to this question will become plain to us, if we survey the scope of human wants. It will be seen that it is impossible to furnish too much useful machinery or to invent too many motive-powers. And thus it will appear, after due consideration, that, the more human beings there are engaged in industry, the greater the degree of prosperity to each member of society.

In the progress of civilization a series of occupations forms, so to speak, a spiral line, ascending from the lowest.

First, there is hunting and fishing. The human being feeds his own animal tissue on the corresponding tissue of fish and game, and makes a limited use of fruits, vegetables, and grains. In the tribal stage his industry is that of hunting and preparation for war, on the side of the men; that of gathering fruits, vegetables, and grains, together with the rude beginnings of agriculture, on the part of the women. In the stage next above, grazing and agriculture become more important. Agricultural and grazing industries imply more stability in the state or nation. They imply settled life, the rudimentary manufactures, and the use of fire. They also imply permanent structures for dwellings. A third occupation, that of mining, makes feeble beginnings quite early, but develops much later. First, precious metals are collected. The metals which do not oxidize readily are prized for religious or superstitious reasons;

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the brightness of gold and silver having a symbolic significance to savages. Thus (*a*) hunting and fishing, (*b*) agriculture and grazing, and (*c*) mining cover the lowest order of human industry—the procuring of raw materials.

Manufacturing, or the transformation of raw materials into articles of use, comes next. There are, first, the rude arts of weaving and sewing, then the transformation of wood and metals to some extent. Hides of animals form the first clothing; later, hides are made into leather,—a cycle of rude, necessary manufactures, which begins with the lowest forms of adaptation and gradually rises to the summit of productive industry.

Then there is a third kind of industry which begins, in the same way, at the bottom and ascends to the heights of the most recent achievement, namely, trade and the transportation of goods. Natural productions are not wealth to man until he utilizes them; and, in order to utilize them, he must take them from the place where they are found and carry them to the place where they are wanted for use or consumption. Hence transportation plays a most important part in the creation of wealth from the beginning to the latest stage. The first transportation is by unaided human effort; gradually animals, the horse, the ox, and others, are brought in to help man. Then there is transportation by water: First the canoe, next the sailing-vessel, and afterward the steamship. The railroad came more than seventy years since; and the present generation will doubtless see aërial navigation an important factor.

Transportation implies trade. The exchange of goods through the agency of money brings into being a large number of new occupations. The earliest stage is that of barter. After barter, the precious metals become a middle term; furnishing a sort of universal property called money, with which all commodities may be measured as to their exchange value. Finally, there develops the system of banking and exchange by credit balances, which brings about a volume of trade not possible on the basis of simple exchange of precious metals for goods. The cost of exchange of goods grows continually less. The use of precious metals for money is the first great step; next, the substitution of paper money for coin; and finally, the use of bank checks—which render unnecessary the waste of actual money by friction and its exposure to loss—reaches the highest point yet attained.

In the matter of trade there is also another line of progress, namely, from the producer who sells the wares that he produces to the general trader, who is first a peddler, then a shopkeeper. The department-store,

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or emporium, reaches the highest usefulness, because it performs the largest amount of exchange at a minimum of expense for wages to salesmen and book-keepers and for house-rent.

In these items we have considered simply the first order of occupations—the production and exchange of necessities. They may be summarized as follows:—

THE LOWER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS—PRODUCTION OF NECESSITIES.

1. THE PROCURING OF RAW MATERIALS.
   - (a) Hunting and fishing.
   - (b) Agriculture and grazing.
   - (c) Mining (including petroleum wells, etc.).

2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRODUCTS.
   - (a) Textile fabrics, cloth, and clothing.
   - (b) Wood and metal-work.
   - (c) Leather and miscellaneous.

3. TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE.

   I.—*Transportation.*
   - (a) Teaming.
   - (b) Water-transportation.
   - (c) Railroads.

   II.—*Trade.*
   - (d) Barter and peddling.
   - (e) Shopkeeping.
   - (f) Banking and exchange.

Returning to our question touching a supply of work for each member of society, we see that in the production and exchange of necessities in the lowest stages of civilization there is more than sufficient work for each individual in the community. Little has been done at that epoch to give to man the control of the great powers of nature. Almost all these are hostile to him. Water is at first a barrier between man and man instead of a connecting link. The forest covers the ground that he wishes for agriculture. He has to struggle even with the wild beasts for the preservation of the lives of his family and of his domestic animals. His roads are mere trails; his clothing is of the rudest sort; his shelter, gloomy and noisome. But the more numerous the members of the tribe, the greater the division of labor possible, the greater the skill, the larger the aggregate of production, and the greater the amount of human comforts distributed to each. *Robinson Crusoe*, alone,

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on his island, could do only one-quarter as much as he and his man *Friday* together. In certain kinds of production the amount produced increases by the second power of the number engaged. Two persons produce not twice but four times as much; three produce nine times as much. An army of one thousand is not ten times, but one hundred times, as strong as an army of one hundred equally well commanded.

With the division of labor begins the invention of machinery. After the subdivision has progressed to such a point that a branch of trade pursued becomes so simple that the workman can perform it by one skilful stroke of the hand or one flexure of his body, it is possible to devise a mechanical contrivance that can do what his hand or his body performed, and that with a maximum of accuracy at all times. This mechanical device he connects with some motive power furnished by nature, such as falling water, or the force of the wind, or, ultimately, with the expansive power of steam. The flail is used for threshing; and winnowing is performed by a sieve held in the hand. These simple movements are easily achieved by machines.

Thus, division of labor leads to the simplification of processes, and prepares the way for an introduction of the machine in the place of the human hand. Then at once the laborer changes from a mere hand into a directing brain. He guides the machine; the machine does the drudgery; and the productive power is increased in the ratio of 1 to 10, 1 to 100, or 1 to 1,000. Here begins the necessity for the readjustment of vocations. The one man with the cotton-gin can clean the seeds out of cotton as fast as eighty laborers can with their hands. The process of weaving cotton into useful fabrics, and the making up of the same into clothing are slow because of the lack of laborers. Seventy-nine laborers are set free by the invention of the cotton-gin, to enter the higher occupations of spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing cotton goods; or they take up the further process of making the goods into useful clothing, or the work of collecting and distributing the same. The three classes of occupations that we have thus far considered, as having their origin and some degree of development even in the lowest order of civilization, namely, (1) the procuring of raw materials, (2) the transformation of products by manufacture, and (3) transportation and commerce, have, to some extent, conquered nature for human uses; but all along the line they have aroused new human wants and desires in a much greater degree. At every point in the entire cycle of human industry there is a desire for more labor and better labor. Hence, any new invention which sets free the laborer in one department is an advantage to other depart-

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ments that need additional labor to improve their products and increase their quantity.

It is true that the supply of the bare necessities of life can be increased beyond the needs of the community. There can be more corn raised than is necessary for consumption. More cotton and wool can be raised than will be needed for clothing. There can be more transportation and more salesmen than are necessary for the exchange of commodities. But human wants and desires have come to demand more than the mere necessities for living. Before a complete supply of such necessities is reached, society demands creature comforts and means of luxury. It accordingly sends out its demand for laborers who have greater skill of manipulation and greater power of invention, and invites them to ascend to better-paid industries. These include manufactures that are adapted to luxury and creature comforts and which require a high order of educated, technical skill. This culling out of the higher class of laborers relieves the pressure on the lower orders, wherein machinery displaces the mere hand-laborer. It is obvious all along the line that a new cycle of employments which add luxury and creature comforts may draw into it the laborers of the lower class as fast as they can be dispensed with below. Suppose that an extreme limit is reached, and that one person out of each hundred of the population is able to supply with the aid of machinery all the raw material that is needed. Suppose again that one person out of each hundred of the people engaged in manufacturing, when aided by machinery, is equal to the task of producing all the articles of necessity. Suppose the same in the spheres of transportation and commerce. When once the labor was readjusted it would be found that the ninety-nine laborers out of each hundred could be profitably employed in providing a better quality of clothing, more commodious dwellings, more comfortable furniture, better transportation facilities, and more healthful mills and working-places for the laborer. The entire surplus of laborers could be taken up into this higher order of occupations that increase the means of luxury and comfort for the people.

This readjustment of vocations may be accomplished well enough, provided the laborers are generally intelligent. But this is a very important proviso. The people must be educated in the common schools and have that superior intelligence which comes from knowledge of the rudiments—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, industrial drawing, etc. And with education the laborer becomes able to ascend from mere handwork to the supervision and direction of machinery,

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and to those employments requiring greater skill, which furnish the articles of luxury and creature comfort.

That there has been growing for some time such a readjustment of vocations, is shown by the National Census, and especially by the latest, that of 1890. Take the following as examples: The laborers engaged in silk manufacture numbered in 1870 only 256 for each million laborers; but in 1880 the number had increased to 1,086, and in 1890 to 1,575. The additional laborers employed came out of the ranks of those engaged in farming or in the coarser manufactures. The following table gives similar items for laborers producing additional articles of luxury:—

Industries.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Stoves and Furnaces	120	190	396
Upholstery	488	598	1,126
Paper-hanging	192	288	545
Plumbers, Gas- and Steam-fitters	888	1,116	2,490
Pottery	408	414	704
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers	6,936	7,496	9,669
Clocks and Watches	144	794	1,109
Total in each million of employed	9,176	10,896	16,039

Here we see the producers of comfort and luxury increasing at a rapid rate, especially in the period from 1880 to 1890. The raw material for food, clothing, and shelter was already produced in great abundance: in fact, there was over-production in some lines. The most skilful, or rather the most intelligent and versatile, of the laborers were attracted to the higher order of industries and received better wages, so that, from 9,176 in each million workers in 1870, the number had risen twenty years later to 16,039; the increase coming by transfer from occupations that had for their object the production of necessities.

In the days before machinery and the use of motive-power, cloth was made by hand; and long after the power-loom was invented, the clothing of the family was made at home with such poor skill as might have been expected where there was no division of labor and each workman tried his hand at everything. Machinery increases the production, and hastens the division of labor. In the making of clothing, the skilful are attracted to the shop; and a rapidly increasing branch of occupations is formed. Add the dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, tailors, collar- and cuff-makers, according to the Census Report for 1890, and the result shows an increase of 50 per cent in twenty years in the manu-

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facture of clothing as a special occupation. In each million there were 20,752 in 1870; 24,930 in 1880; and 31,170 in 1890. This increase, like that above considered, came from the laboring classes that had been engaged in the production of necessities. Tailor-made clothing belongs to the division of luxury. In the period prior to machinery, as stated above, nearly all clothing was home-made.

There is a still more numerous class connected with trade, which shows a large increase from decade to decade; viz., book-keepers, clerks, and salesmen. The subjoined table shows the number of these in each million of employed.

Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Book-keepers and Salesmen	24,880	30,874	44,630
Bankers and Brokers	880	1,116	1,584
Officials of Banking, Insurance, and Trust Companies	848	892	1,760
Agents and Collectors	1,624	1,956	7,680
Total in each million of employed	28,232	34,838	55,654

The Census divides all gainful occupations into five classes: (1) Agriculture, Fishing, and Mining, (2) Professional, (3) Domestic and Personal, (4) Trade and Transportation, (5) Manufacturing and Mechanical. It is obvious that in the beginning the first of these classes would absorb nearly the entire population. The professional, domestic, and personal service, the transportation and trade, and manufactures would be performed by the farmers as an incidental affair. Where there is a sparse population this is ever the case. But with numbers comes division of labor; and what was united in the agricultural stage of development becomes separate, and is divided into permanent vocations. With separation begins the rapid development of skill; and then comes the invention of machines to perform simple operations. Simple machines gradually become complex; each one performing several elementary operations. Increase of productive power renders many laborers superfluous in the lower order of production; and then begins a gradual readjustment by the transfer from agriculture to manufacturing, transportation, and professional occupations. This movement, long in progress, was visible in the United States in the decade 1870-80, and was quite remarkable in that from 1880 to 1890, as shown by the following table:—

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Employed in	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Agriculture, etc.	491.1	460.3	396.5
Professional Service	29.6	34.7	41.5
Domestic and Personal	184.8	201.4	191.8
Trade and Transportation	98.3	107.3	146.3
Manufacturing	196.2	196.3	223.9
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000

The figures in this table show the number of laborers in each class of industries for each thousand of all classes. About one hundred in each thousand have changed from agriculture to other classes of employment; namely, 48 to trade and transportation, 27.7 to manufactures, 7 to domestic, and 12 to professional occupations. Meanwhile, the productions of agriculture continue to be largely in excess of home consumption. Improved planting-, cultivating-, and harvesting-machines make possible a greater product from decade to decade.

Greater comfort to the working-man is produced by the portion of labor that is expended on transportation. The increase is shown in the following table:—

Description of Employees.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Steam-railroad	12,320	13,576	20,331
Street-railroad	408	673	1,645
Hackmen and Teamsters	9,656	10,217	16 210
Total in each million of employed	22,384	24,466	38,186

The steam-railroads carry goods from places where they are less in demand to where the demand for them is greater, and thus increase their usefulness. In the case of perishable commodities, the saving is identical with the entire value of the goods. Passengers are carried in immense numbers from crowded cities to the suburbs. The same benefit is secured by street-railroads. They conserve the strength of the laborer, a large percentage of which was formerly wasted in walking to and from his place of labor. Teamsters assist the railroad in the collection and distribution of freight; and omnibuses, like the street-rail-

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roads, convey passengers. It has been shown that the number (22,384 persons) employed in these beneficial services out of each million in 1870 has nearly doubled in twenty years. This increase (15,802 in each million) has also been supplied from the lower order of industries, in which machinery has set free laborers no longer needed for the production of necessities.

It is instructive to note a similar movement in the metals, from the lower order of work toward specializing new trades and increasing skill.

Formerly the blacksmith performed nearly all the work in iron and steel. Blacksmiths have relatively decreased; while the various trades that go to the specialized iron and steel industries have progressively increased, as the following figures show:—

Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Mere Blacksmiths	11,360	9,935	9,026
All other Iron- and Steel-workers *	14,744	16,050	21,831
Total in each million of employed	26,104	25,985	30,857

* Including machinists, moulders, makers of wire, cutlery, tools, nails, stoves, furnaces, steam-boilers, patterns, and sewing-machines, and workers in iron, steel, and other metals.

The trades evolved from blacksmithing are nearly all applications of machinery, by which the labor of the hand is multiplied from ten- to a thousand-fold. New inventions, in the case of iron and steel manufacture, nearly keep pace with the expansion of trade in iron and steel products; hence the transfer of laborers from agriculture to this branch of manufacture as a whole is slow—only 4,753 in twenty years, or 21 per cent increase over the quota of 1870.

But the production of articles of luxury is only the beginning of the higher order of occupations. Protection and culture are higher ends of life than mere luxury and creature comfort.

The vocations which provide protection to the individual include, first, those that furnish amusement and recreation. If this side of human life is neglected there is a constant tendency to such diseases as result in melancholia. The friction of living is augmented; and life is shortened. There must be a certain amount of diversion to preserve the sanity of the individual; and many vocations have for their end amusement or some form of recreation. Next, there is the medical profession, which makes it its business to restore health and to protect the

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body against disease. The legal profession protects property and the person. Then there is the official class, the officers of towns, states, and nations,—officers who manage public works and public charities, as well as those that perform the legislative, executive, or judicial functions of the state. These vocations belong also to the protective class —being protective of the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Next, there is a large class of protective agencies in the form of insurance companies, companies that guard the general or special interests of society as a whole, or of any particular part of it, charitable associations, trade-unions, and associations for the protection of property or provision for old age or death. These five classes of protective vocations employ comparatively few persons out of the whole community; but it is obvious that they might be increased to advantage. How well could society afford to multiply by ten, or even a hundred, its medical force engaged in the investigation of microbes and the diseases caused by them!

While public officials are not likely to increase very rapidly, the functions which provide amusement, recreation, or protective insurance against the contingencies of life, are constantly furnishing new vocations, and will eventually furnish labor for a much larger portion of society than does the entire professional service at present.

In a similar conspectus to that in which we have given the lower order of occupations engaged in the production of necessities, we may now present the first and second subdivisions of higher occupations, which constantly receive accessions from the lower order.

THE HIGHER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS—PRODUCTION OF MEANS OF LUXURY, OF PROTECTION, AND OF CULTURE.

The vocations that provide:

1. MEANS OF LUXURY AND CREATURE COMFORT, INCLUDING MANUFACTURES THAT REQUIRE A HIGHER ORDER OF EDUCATED, TECHNICAL SKILL.
2. MEANS OF PROTECTION, INCLUDING—
   - (a) Those who provide amusement and recreation.
   - (b) The medical profession.
   - (c) The legal profession.
   - (d) Officials managing public works or public charities, and Government officials.
   - (e) Insurance companies, and the directive agents of companies formed for guarding the general or special interests of society as a whole, or of any particular part of it; charitable associations, trade-unions, etc.

The third and last division of the higher order of vocations includes the employments of that portion of the community engaged in furnish-

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ing means of culture. These may be arranged under five heads:—

First. The moral and religious education of the people. The view of the world that underlies the civilization in which we live is taught in the Church as the recognized institution which has this in care. The vocations provided for by the Church form this first division.

Second. The intellectual and moral education of youth through schools and libraries. The corps of teachers connected with schools of all sorts, and the persons engaged in the management of libraries form this second class.

Third. Æsthetic culture, culture of the taste. This division includes the vocations having for their object the production of the beautiful in its various forms, workmen in all trades producing ornament on useful goods, the producers of works of art in sculpture, painting, music, poetry, literature, or landscape gardening; and the curators of all establishments (art museums, etc.) for the cultivation of a knowledge of works of art.

Fourth. The publishing interests connected with the collection and diffusion of information, the editing and printing of books and newspapers, the management of telegraphs and telephones, and all individual and associated endeavors pertaining thereto.

Fifth. The pursuit of science, and the invention of devices useful in the arts.

That there is progress from year to year in most of the vocations of this large department is obvious. The need of intercommunication with one's fellow-men, and of gratifying the thirst for information in regard to human affairs has become scarcely less imperative than the three great necessities, food, clothing, and shelter. The table on the next page shows the progress in fifteen of these vocations.

It will be seen that the average increase in twenty years in these vocations is nearly 50 per cent. The number of vocations also increases, and will increase; the inventive mind being very active in the direction of furnishing new devices for instruction, as well as in the matter of intercommunication between the individual and his fellow-men. As fast as the supply of the lower order of wants can be effected by means of machinery, large numbers press upward into these vocations, which have to deal with intercommunication, the diffusion of science, and the refinement of taste. That part of the population which still labors in the lowest round of occupations claims as its right that those who fill the professional employments shall labor for its delectation and welfare.

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Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Clergymen	3,512	3,722	3,880
Professors and Teachers	10,144	13,099	15,273
Physicians and Surgeons	4,992	4,930	4,610
Dentists	624	708	769
Lawyers	3,256	3,687	3,941
Engineers and Surveyors	593	477	1,900
Designers, Draftsmen, and Inventors	104	161	413
Authors, and Literary and Scientific Men	.....	64	290
Chemists and Metallurgists	61	113	197
Artists and Teachers of Art	320	523	985
Musicians and Music Teachers	1,280	1,755	2,734
Journalists	424	708	963
Photographers	608	575	880
Printers, Compositors, Lithographers, etc	3,232	4,182	4,768
Piano- and Organ-makers and tuners	288	449	669
Total in each million of employed	29,437	35,153	42,272

Looking at these five subdivisions of the third class we have this summary:—

THE HIGHER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS (*Continued*).

3. INSTRUMENTALITIES OF CULTURE:
   - (a) Moral and religious—churches, etc.
   - (b) Intellectual and moral education—schools and libraries.
   - (c) Æsthetic—including all trades that supply ornament on useful goods, or that produce works of art in sculpture, painting, music, or literature, landscape gardening, etc. Also all influences that cultivate taste—the formation and care of art museums, etc.
   - (d) The collection and diffusion of information, editing and printing of books and newspapers, telegraph operators, etc.
   - (e) The pursuit of science and the invention of devices useful in the arts.

Suppose that machinery should so far conquer drudgery that one person in each hundred, by the aid of machinery, could furnish all the food, clothing, and shelter needed for the other ninety-nine, every one of these ninety-nine would find ample employment in the higher order of employments which provide means for luxury, protection, and culture. The discontent existing at the present time originates largely in the feeling that there is too much drudgery and too little time for science, art, literature, and the contemplation of ideals. Instead of coming too fast, useful inventions are not coming fast enough.

WILLIAM T. HARRIS.

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THE KALEVALA.

THE past hundred years have witnessed a remarkable change in the attitude of the cultured mind toward the languages and literatures of primitive peoples. No ancient writer thought fit to tell us much concerning the languages or the songs of the numerous tribes included within the bounds of the Macedonian and the Roman empires; and the Middle Ages in general preserved an equal indifference.

More recently men of genius and learning have devoted themselves enthusiastically to the collection of popular songs and stories; so that the student of comparative philology, of folk-lore, or of the general history of culture, has now a mass of material at hand, the thorough sifting of which the next century will hardly see completed.

Especially valuable has this work been from a literary standpoint. Not only does the material which has been gathered throw much light on the history of humanity, on the rise and development of customs, and on the origin and decay of languages, but, in some cases, it illustrates in a striking way the preparatory and intermediate stages of literary growth which culminated in an "Iliad," a "Mahabharata," a "Shah-Nameh," or a "Nibelungenlied." One of the best examples of the manner in which these epics probably came into being is shown in the formation of the "Kalevala,"—the Finnish national poem, which Prof. Max Müller sets beside the four just mentioned, as the fifth great epic of the world.

Ever since the appearance in the field of history of that hardy, peaceful race which now inhabits Finland, we find references to incantations and other forms of lyric poetry current among the people; and during the last century several efforts were made to collect these songs. Toward the end of the century, it became evident that these scattered lyrics gathered around two or three important figures, and that they probably constituted parts of a connected whole. Great exertions were then made by scholars to bring together all the fragments; and runes were gathered from the lips of the peasantry and of itinerant singers in the remotest corners of Finland proper, as well as in Western Russia. In 1822, a collection of some of the scattered parts of the poem was

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published by Zacharias Topelius; some years later, the eminent Finnish scholar, Elias Lönnrot, wove these passages together; and the final result was the appearance, in 1835, of the complete "Kalevala,"—a poem of thirty-two parts, each containing from 200 to 700 verses. In 1849, a second edition, containing fifty runes, or cantos, and 22,793 lines, was published.

When the poem is considered in its present apparent unity, it is hard to believe that, but for Lönnrot's labor, its various parts would probably have remained in the form of scattered songs, and in a few years—with the disappearance of the popular minstrel—have perished utterly. The merits of the work were at once appreciated; and it was translated into Swedish, French, German, and Hungarian. The first translation of any portions of it into English was made by Prof. John A. Porter, of Yale College; and the first complete English translation—which appeared in 1888—was also the work of an American.

No other great epic has so few references to historic events. The heroes of the "Kalevala" are the demigods of Finnish mythology,—*Wainamoinen* (the ancient master-singer), *Ilmarinen* (the eternal iron-worker), and *Lemminkainen* (the untiring suitor), for none of whom any real existence is claimed. The plains of *Kalevala*, whose peaceful inhabitants these heroes protect from the evil denizens of the dismal *Sariola*, have no definite location. In the course of time, however, *Kalevala* has come to mean Finland; while *Sariola*, or *Pohyola*, is identified with Lapland. Not a word is to be found in any of the songs concerning the Swedes or the Russians, with whom the Finns have been in contact for a thousand years.

The mythology of the poem is of the most primitive cast; and the continual mention of copper or bronze, in every conceivable use, and the almost utter absence of Christian ideas, together with many other considerations, point to a remarkable antiquity for the poem. There seems to be no doubt that some parts of it date back to a period at least three thousand years ago, before the Finns and the Hungarians had become distinct peoples; for the names of divinities, many of the customs, and even particular incantations and bits of superstition, mentioned in the "Kalevala," are curiously duplicated in ancient Hungarian writings.

The "Kalevala" begins with a description of the creation of the world. The *Daughter of the Ether*, mother of *Wainamoinen*, whose father is the ocean, spends seven hundred years on the sea before her son is born. A duck, in search of a nesting-place, lays her eggs on the

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knees of the *Water-Mother*. There they become so warm, that the *Ether-Daughter* moves, and the eggs are broken; the earth growing from the lower half of the united fragments, and the heavens from the upper.

> "From the white part come the moonbeams,
> From the yellow part the sunshine,
> From the motley part the starlight,
> From the dark part grows the cloudage."

Then the *Water-Mother* creates the islands, bays, reefs, and hills; and all is ready for the birth of *Wainamoinen*. Surely this is a primitive account of creation; and it is of much interest in comparative ethnology, because other peoples in various parts of the earth have somewhat similar stories of the egg-origin of the earth.

From this point onward, the poem is devoted chiefly to the story of *Wainamoinen*, with the occasional introduction of episodes relating to his brothers and other notable figures in Finnish mythology. These heroes are always in quest of adventure; their experiences in wooing Lapland maidens forming the theme of the greater part of the poem. Most of the remainder relates to the Finnish Argonautic expedition to obtain the *Sampo*,—Lapland's talisman,—and to the frantic efforts of *Louhi*, its former custodian, to regain it after it has been stolen. So curious are most of these episodes, and such remarkable use is made of magic,—the *deus ex machina* of many a troublesome situation,—that a complete analysis would not be uninteresting. But, to gain a general idea of the style and thought of the poem, it will suffice to examine one of these episodes somewhat in detail; for it is in details—especially in the descriptive passages—that the "Kalevala" excels. For this purpose, the second wooing of *Lemminkainen* is admirably suited.

Of the fifty runes of which the "Kalevala" is composed, this passage occupies the twelfth to the fifteenth, inclusive. Like the rest of the poem, it is written in the metre which Longfellow has made familiar by its adoption in "Hiawatha." This metre is especially suited to the genius of the language: for Finnish words are prevailingly trochaic; and even Finnish prose has a tendency to become poetry. Rhyme is not a feature of Finnish poetry; but alliteration is frequent. The latter is much aided by the poverty of the Finnish alphabet, which contains but nineteen letters, of which five are found only in a few foreign words and some dialects. That it has been possible to hand down these legends from generation to generation with comparatively few changes, is ex-

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plained by the fact that the alliterative form is an excellent aid to the memory.

Finnish is a liquid and sonorous language. It has none of the harsh sibilants and gutturals which disfigure Russian; and the beauty of the poem in the original is very great. Among the remarkable stylistic features of the original that the English translation preserves is its parallelism, which is as carefully worked out as that of the old Hebrew poetry,—a parallelism which occasionally becomes monotonous; going so far as to repeat verbatim in the answer a dozen lines or so of the question. Conciseness, therefore, is not one of the characteristics of the poem. But this occasional redundancy is more than compensated by the beauty of many of the descriptions. When, for instance, *Ilmarinen's* bride, the beautiful *Maiden of the Rainbow*, is about to leave with her husband, her mother, *Louhi*, in bidding her farewell, thus reviews her childhood:—

> "Never wert thou, child, in sorrow,
> Never hadst thou grief nor trouble,
> All thy cares were left to fir-trees,
> All thy worry to the copses,
> All thy weeping to the willows,
> All thy sighing to the lindens,
> All thy thinking to the aspens
> And the birches on the mountains,
> Light and airy as the leaflet,
> As a butterfly in summer,
> Ruddy as a mountain-berry,
> Beautiful as vernal flowers."

Lemminkainen is the *Paris* of the "Kalevala." The dark and light shades of his character make him, perhaps, the most interesting personage in the poem. Reckless, warm-blooded, vindictive, he is more human than the "grand old Wainamoinen," or the rather thick-witted *Ilmarinen*, "Kalevala's wizard-forgeman." Compelled, as is customary among uncivilized peoples, to seek a wife from another tribe, he sets out for *Pohyola*, after the unfaithfulness of his first consort. It is curious to notice that he is perhaps the most devout of the three heroes. On this expedition, as on all other expeditions in which he is engaged, before leaving he prays to *Ukko* for success. This prayer shows so well how the Supreme Being was regarded, that some lines of it are worth quoting here as an example of the real religious feeling of the Finnish nature. After an invocation of numerous minor deities of the forest and the rivers, he beseeches *Ukko* directly:—

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"Ukko, thou, O God above me,
Thou the father of creation,
Thou that speakest through the thunder,
Thou whose weapon is the lightning,
Thou whose voice is borne by ether,
Grant me now thy mighty fire-sword,
Give me here thy burning arrows,
Lightning arrows for my quiver,
Thus protect me from all danger,
Guard me from the wiles of witches,
Guide my feet from every evil,
Help me conquer the enchanters,
Help me drive them from the Northland."

It is, therefore, with a desire to annihilate the whole force of "Lapland wizards" that he sets forth. Arrived on "the dismal shores of Lapland," he conjures a dwarf to unharness his steed, enters *Louhi's* hall without arousing the watchdog, and begins his work of destruction. With his incantations he straightway banishes all the heroes,

"This one hither, that one thither,
. . . . . .
To the waterfalls of Rutya,
To the whirlpool hot and flaming,
To the waters decked with sea-foam,
Into fires and boiling waters,
Into everlasting torment."

He spares but one, a wretched, helpless shepherd, whom he taunts with his deformities. The old man hobbles off, swearing vengeance; while *Lemminkainen* turns his attention to the object of his journey. *Louhi* is naturally averse to giving him her daughter, and says she will listen to him when he has caught the wild moose of the *Hiisi* forests,—*Hiisi* being the tutelary god of Lapland, the incarnation of all things evil. For this purpose, *Lemminkainen* needs snow-shoes, which he gets from "the ablest smith of Lapland":—

"Smooth as adder's skin the woodwork,
Soft as fox-fur were the stick-rings."

Such similes, drawn from the realm of nature, are common in the "Kalevala," and are often strikingly beautiful. *Lemminkainen* is greatly pleased with these snow-shoes, and boasts of them. Thereupon wicked *Hiisi* "fashioned soon a reindeer," the materials of which call to the mind the splashing of the deer among the lily-pads of a mountain lake:—

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"And the head was made of punk-wood,
Horns of naked willow branches,
Feet were furnished by the rushes,
And the legs, by reeds aquatic,
Veins were made of withered grasses,
Eyes, from daisies of the meadows,
Ears were formed of water-flowers,
And the skin of tawny fir-bark,
Out of sappy wood, the muscles,
Fair and fleet, the magic reindeer."

The beast gives *Lemminkainen* quite a chase, and, when captured, escapes; leaving him with broken snow-shoes in the desolate ice-plains. Again he has recourse to prayer; first imploring *Ukko* to put his "snow-shoes well in order," and then beseeching the assistance of the mountain and forest divinities. With their help, he glides onward: they start the moose from its covert, and drive it toward *Lemminkainen*, who is waiting to lasso it.

When *Lemminkainen* presents the moose to *Louhi* and claims the maiden from her, she calmly requires a second service,—the bridling of the flaming horse of *Hiisi*. Again the power of prayer is illustrated. On *Lemminkainen's* supplication, *Ukko* sends a hail-storm. This so greatly alarms the fire-breathing steed, that he submits at once to the hero, who leads him, safely bridled, to *Louhi*. But, of course, a third task is proposed, more difficult than either of the others. He must, with but one arrow, slay the swan

"In the river of Tuoni,
Swimming in the black death-river,
In the sacred stream and whirlpool."

A peculiar interest attaches to the descriptions of this fatal region, which is occasionally penetrated by *Kalevala's* heroes while living, and which all must finally enter. *Wainamoinen*, for instance, goes to *Tuonela*, this country of death, to find the master-words of magic with which to build a boat; and he escapes only by turning himself into a serpent,

"Creeping like a worm of magic,
Like an adder through the grasses,
Through the coal-black stream of death-land,
Through a thousand nets of copper,
Interlaced with threads of iron,
From the kingdom of Tuoni,
From the castles of Manala."

The dread in which this region is held, however, does not deter *Lem-*

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minkainen ; and he sets out bravely. But the wretched shepherd whom he had spared lies in wait for him, and, as he draws near, sends a serpent from the death-stream,

> "Like an arrow from a cross-bow
> To the heart of Lemminkainen."

As he falls mortally wounded, raising a last prayer to his mother, the old shepherd casts him

> "Into Tuonela's river,
> To the blackest stream of death-land,
> To the worst of fatal whirlpools.
> Lemminkainen, wild and daring,
> Helpless falls upon the waters,
> Floating down the coal-black current,
> Through the cataract and rapids
> To the tombs of Tuonela.
> There the blood-stained son of death-land,
> There Tuoni's son and hero,
> Cuts in pieces Lemminkainen.
> . . . . . .
> Thus the hero, Lemminkainen,
> Thus the handsome Kaukomieli,
> The untiring suitor, dieth
> In the river of Tuoni,
> In the death-realm of Manala."

It would be interesting to follow the steps by which *Lemminkainen's* mother learns of his calamity, and to trace the manner in which she restores him to life. But the passage above epitomized will give an idea of the general trend of the poem, and enough details for comparing it with the greatest of all epics.

The "Kalevala" evidently portrays a more primitive plane of civilization than that of ancient Hellas, a civilization much nearer that of the North American Indians, with their unbounded reverence for medicine-men; and it is a curious fact that several of the Finnish myths—that of the creation, for instance—have near counterparts in American stories. There is not the glamour about these Finnish songs that surrounds the tales of Troy; dealing as the latter do with courts and princes and mighty battles. Indeed, no form of settled government is anywhere indicated in the poem. Each family is under the control of its head; but there seem to be no clans nor tribes, no chiefs nor kings. In fact, while the "Iliad" and the "Nibelungenlied" lay stress on the action, one who reads the "Kalevala" feels that the action is of second-

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ary importance. The Finns are a home-loving, unwarlike, contemplative people. The adventures of their heroes are not entered upon from a love of conquest. The poet spends only a few words on any trial of arms; but he is as thoroughly interested, and perhaps as interesting, in the making of *Wainamoinen's* magic harp as is Homer in his description of Achilles' shield. If constant references are a criterion, music must have held a higher place in *Kalevala* than in Hellas. The Orpheus-cantos of the poem—if we may give them that name—surpass any tribute to the power of melody in the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey."

As regards humor, while generally it is of that grim and practical variety in which early poetry delights, there are, nevertheless, several passages, such as the advice given to *Ilmarinen* and his bride at their wedding, which are genuinely funny.

From an artistic standpoint the "Kalevala" holds an inferior position. It stands, so to speak, midway between the scattered lays or sagas which are found among all peoples and such a masterpiece as the "Iliad." Lönnrot, however indefatigable a collector of the popular poetry, and however careful a scientist, was not a Homer. The unity which he gives to the poem is, after all, rather weak. Indeed, it is the study of the "Kalevala" which has dealt the hardest blow to Wolf's theory of the composition of the Homeric poems, and has confirmed the latest critics in the belief that the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" are the work of a single poet of consummate genius.

But while modern critics cannot claim for the "Kalevala," as an artistic work, the position which earlier writers awarded it, the poem has charms which will always cause it to take a high rank among the literary monuments of the world. Chief and foremost among these charms is the sympathetic delineation of nature, which stands out on every page. When *Wainamoinen* plays his magic harp, for instance,

> "Leaped the squirrels from the branches,
> Merrily from birch to aspen;
> Climbed the ermines on the fences,
> O'er the plains the elk-deer bounded,
> And the lynxes purred with pleasure."

Again, when *Wainamoinen* has cleared away the forests for the planting of the barley, he leaves the birch-tree standing for the birds to rest upon:—

> "Lo! there comes a spring-time cuckoo,
> Spying out the slender birch-tree,

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Rests upon it, sweetly singing:
'Wherefore is the silver birch-tree
Left unharmed of all the forest?'
Spake the ancient Wainamoinen:
'Therefore have I left the birch-tree,
Left the birch-tree only growing,
Home for thee for joyful singing.
Call thou here, O sweet-voiced cuckoo,
Sing thou here from throat of velvet,
Sing thou here with voice of silver,
Sing the cuckoo's golden flute-notes;
Call at morning, call at evening,
Call within the hour of noontide,
For the better growth of forests,
For the ripening of the barley,
For the richness of the Northland
For the joy of Kalevala.'"

However valuable the poem may be to the history of culture, of literature, of religion; however fascinating the weirdness of its magic heroes and the quaintness of its atmosphere, it is this love of the pines and oaks and birches, this sympathy for the beasts of the woodland, which give the Finnish epic its chief distinction.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

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RECENT HISTORIES OF LITERATURE.

In an age like our own, when the output of strictly critical work surpasses in quantity—perhaps even in quality—that of genuine creative literature, it is no matter for surprise that histories of literature, which are really little more than compressed and preserved forms of criticism, should flourish to an extent hitherto almost unparalleled. It is just as little a matter for regret, since a critical epoch affords, as it were, a breathing-space for the creative powers of a people to recuperate in, or, if a homely metaphor be pardoned, an opportunity for balancing their literary accounts. Now, in literature, as well as in business, there are various methods of balancing books; and it is a rather important matter to determine which of them is best. Hence, an attempt to describe and appraise certain notable histories of literature that have recently appeared may not be without interest and value.

It needs but a glance at the dozen or more volumes that will be passed in review, to perceive that they are susceptible of various logical divisions. One group will represent the collaboration of numerous special scholars; another, the monumental labors of an indefatigable student; still another, the rapidly dispatched task of a trained literary workman. A division by subject-matter will show that we can make our choice between studying the literature of the world, or of a continent, or of a country, whether in its entirety or for some special period. A division by methods of treatment will show that we may study these literatures not merely in a profound or in a shallow manner, but from the point of view of biography, of æsthetic criticism, of a mixture of these two, or of literary evolution by genres. A brief examination of the individual works may, perhaps, throw light upon the relative values of these principles of division, which are various and complex enough to confuse the general reader and to annoy the specialist.

As might be expected, it is France—the nation that has done most for the cause of criticism in modern times—that has given us the best two histories of literature that come under our survey. The greatest coöperative critical undertaking of recent years is, beyond a doubt, the monumental "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française,"

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which is in process of publication under the editorship of M. Petit de Julleville. Each stage of the evolution of what we must all admit to be the most seminal, if not the noblest, of modern literatures is treated exhaustively by the most competent specialist the learned editor could engage; and the result is a series of volumes which are as indispensable to the student of French literature as the late Dr. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" is to the student of American history. Such a work, however, although, like all French books, readable, is intended primarily for scholars, and is beyond the purview of the present paper. It can be properly reviewed only by a number of specialists; and no such undertaking can fairly be regarded as a *book*, so long as the capacity of the average human mind remains what it is. No editor, however able, has yet succeeded in coördinating the work of specialists into a book that truly lives. The living book must be planned and developed and nourished by an individual mind. Some books may be larger and greater than others; but, if they be real books, they remain single living organisms. A coöperative book begins and ends by being the heterogeneous product of a joint-stock company. Yet one wishes that such literary joint-stock companies as this of which M. de Julleville is president could be speedily formed in Great Britain and the United States.

The second great history of French literature is so recent, and will serve so well to round off our survey, that we may pass, without further parley, to our own country, where we are confronted at once with a work which, though of almost gigantic proportions, is, nevertheless, a single organism and, therefore, a living book. It is needless to say that reference is made to Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's "The Literary History of the American Revolution," the two volumes of which are a continuation of his "History of American Literature during the Colonial Time," a work which has been before the public for many years. American literature has not yet reached tremendous proportions; but Prof. Tyler has managed to write four very interesting volumes about it without coming beyond the year 1783, by which time we had produced exactly one great literary figure; to wit, Benjamin Franklin.

The reader unacquainted with these volumes will naturally suspect their author of having padded them; but this is not the case. The proportions of the work are determined by his love and knowledge of his subject. He is a scholar primarily, of the most painstaking type; and scholarly enthusiasts, if their lives hold out, weave enormous cocoons. There is hardly a dull page in any one of Prof. Tyler's vol-

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umes, although, in nine cases out of ten, he is dealing with writers who are not merely forgotten, but who never had a spark of literary life about them when they moved among their admiring contemporaries, our easily satisfied forefathers. It is Prof. Tyler's own personality that gives a sort of galvanic shock to these worthies; and that he can give such a shock proves him to be possessed of the essential qualifications of a historian. To the special student, his exhaustive treatise is, of course, invaluable; but we have just seen that a literary history need not be truly alive in order to be invaluable.

A minute review of his latest volumes would be as much out of place here as a detailed treatment of the great French collection of monographs would be; but it may be well to point out a few special features that should interest the public. One is the general light thrown on the political aspects of the Revolution by means of the careful scrutiny brought to bear upon nearly every political pamphlet of importance published during the period,—especially by the sympathetic scrutiny directed toward the writings of the American Loyalists. We have, for some years, been coming to see that these long-suffering people have been too harshly dealt with by historians; and it is scarcely too much to say that Prof. Tyler has rendered such treatment practically impossible in the future. He and other recent scholars may, indeed, have allowed their sympathy to make them a little too reactionary; for, after all, the Loyalists did not possess political wisdom, which is almost the chief reproach a historian can bring against a people or a class. But, if these apologists err, their mistake is a venial one. Hardly less important than this feature of his book is Prof. Tyler's splendid analysis of the Declaration of Independence, and his defence of that noble document from the ill-informed criticisms that have been directed against it from so many quarters. This chapter is, perhaps, the best to be found in the volumes, although the value and power of some other writings of Jefferson cannot be said to be well brought out. Franklin, too, seems to suffer somewhat, and should probably have been placed in the first, rather than in the second, volume.

But these criticisms and others that one could easily make, such as the omission of this man or that speech, or even Prof. Tyler's occasional lack of care in his references to British literature,[1] are all mere

[1] For example, one might infer, from his remarks on Freneau (i. 180), that there is something very noteworthy in that poet's having been a precursor of Wordsworth and having imitated the minor poems of Milton, when, as a matter of fact, Dyer and the other rebels from Pope's authority had been doing the same thing in England for years before Freneau was born.

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trifles of which one is ashamed when one contemplates the solid and admirable achievements of this devoted scholar and accomplished critic. One's natural feeling upon closing his volumes should be not a querulous wonder at the comprehensiveness of his sympathy, which would argue a narrow mind and a still narrower heart on the part of the reader, but a sense of genuine admiration for a noble purpose nobly pursued, and of hope that, when at last the author lays down his pen, a complete history of American literature will lie before him in just as many volumes as he thinks proper to write.

Professor Katherine Lee Bates's "American Literature" follows Prof. Tyler's work much as a pinnace follows a man-of-war; but it is none the less worthy of passing notice. The attempt to compress a large subject into a handy volume is a kind of literary undertaking that will never be out of date: for the desire of the general public for knowledge is sure to increase rather than decrease; and, with the ever-growing mass of things to know, the manual becomes more and more a matter of prime necessity. As Matthew Arnold long since pointed out, a good manual of literary history is a very difficult sort of book to compose,—one requiring of its author, besides wide knowledge and ability to write, the much rarer qualities of tact and self-repression. That Miss Bates has all the qualifications requisite, it would be idle to contend: no one has. But her little volume is readable; her thoroughly national point of view is commendable; and her sympathy with her subject often makes her a good interpreter of men and books. When she errs, it is generally on the side of fluency and effusiveness—both of them qualities that are not unpleasing and that are too rare in text-books to be faulted with impunity. It is perhaps a little premature to call any of our living poets "a troubadour of purest strain," unless Miss Bates is as disillusioned with regard to Provençal literature, as she certainly is with regard to the untroubadour strains of our own Walt Whitman; but one could wish that feminine sympathy and delicacy of phrasing were found oftener in the "American Literatures" which every publishing house seems bent on supplying.

From the single manual one passes naturally to a collection of manuals, *i. e.*, to the omnipresent "series" under the charge of an editor. Two such coöperative undertakings, both of them British in origin, are challenging public approbation at the present time; and, while only one of them has progressed far enough to be dealt with at all adequately, both should receive notice on account of the differing principles on which they are edited. The first is Prof. Saintsbury's series, entitled, "Periods

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of European Literature"; and the second is Mr. Edmund Gosse's, entitled, "Literatures of the World." The principle of "cross-country" chronological slicing employed by the erudite Edinburgh professor is one made familiar already by certain well-known series of abridged histories. Mr. Gosse's principle of editing is the still better known one of "bundling." Both editors have arranged for twelve volumes; but, while Mr. Saintsbury's number is fixed by chronology, Mr. Gosse's can be enlarged indefinitely, if the Spanish-American republics and the various Asiatic and African states can only be prevailed upon to bestir themselves and produce literatures. There can be little doubt that the principle underlying the first series is the more scholarly, and that the one underlying the second is the better adapted to popular needs.

Mr. Saintsbury, as he tells us candidly enough by means of a quotation, has followed Matthew Arnold in holding that "the criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result." From this point of view, it is fairly obvious that his series must begin after the decline of classical literature, that is, with the so-called Dark Ages. He has drawn quite a rational series of lines across European literary history, and will thus give us a set of volumes dealing with every important epoch,—a sort of elongated "Hallam," with a batch of learned scholars and clever journalists taking the place of the dry, but admirable, *savant* of the first half of this century. Of these volumes only one has appeared,[1] viz., the second, entitled, "The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory," which is from the hand of the editor himself.

The period covered (A.D. 1100–1300) is, of course, an extremely interesting one, as will be readily seen when we mention the "Dies Iræ," the "Song of Roland" and its peers, the Arthurian Romances, "Reynard the Fox," "The Romance of the Rose," and the "Poem of the Cid"; and Mr. Saintsbury was probably as fully equipped to undertake it as any other living English scholar. It is open to anyone who reads the volume, whether he be a specialist or not, to believe that it has been written in a very workmanlike manner. The division is by chapters, dealing with the different countries, France naturally receiving the most attention; but, from the nature of the case, the

[1] Since this article was written Mr. David Hannay's volume on the "Later Renaissance" has made its appearance. It seems to be quite strong on the Spanish side.

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specific genres or forms of composition, both in poetry and prose, are treated more or less singly with an ease which will hardly be attained in succeeding volumes on account of the growing complexity of the national literatures. It is also open to every reader to wish that Mr. Saintsbury's style were equal to his matter, and to believe that he not infrequently strikes too high a note of praise, especially when he is dealing with his favorite *chansons de geste*. Matthew Arnold and M. Brunetière may not give the latter poems their due, indeed may know little about them, as Mr. Saintsbury hints; but it is quite plain that the chief reason for the disagreement between these eminent authorities lies in the fact that Mr. Saintsbury, for all his learning, is a perfervid Romanticist, whose mind has never been subdued to classic repose. This is why he does not understand Arnold's position, and so feels called upon to question his scholarship; not remembering that a man can be a good critic without being a good scholar, just as he can be a good scholar without being a critic at all. But Mr. Saintsbury is to be congratulated on having written an excellent book, and on having inaugurated what promises to be a valuable series.

Mr. Saintsbury, if the irreverent comparison may be forgiven, is like the boy who stood head of the class of which he was the sole member: Mr. Gosse is thus far the head of a class of three,—and a very talented class at that. His volume on "Modern English Literature" is probably the best piece of literary work he has ever done, and is certainly a much more admirable book than either Mr. Gilbert Murray's "Ancient Greek Literature" or Prof. Edward Dowden's "French Literature," which preceded it in the series. It is safe to infer that it will have a rather formidable rival in Dr. Richard Garnett's "Italian Literature," which is soon to follow: for Dr. Garnett is an able man; and we need a good history of Italian literature as much as we do any literary manual. But if Dr. Garnett, our own Prof. Tyler, or any other of the chosen contributors to this series, surpasses his chief it will be matter for surprise. Mr. Gosse, by his latest volume, has already, in all probability, surprised those of his countrymen who are wont to treat him as a far from strenuous critic. If, however, they are not yet willing to accord him his due meed of praise, time will soon force them to do it.

Mr. Gosse may be a trifle unsteady in the matter of dates, and may sometimes hazard a statement which a dry-as-dust reviewer can ruthlessly show to be without foundation; but he has come nearer than any other Englishman has done to giving us in a single volume of fair

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size a satisfactory account of the movement, of the evolution of English literature,—this with a proper subordination of his own prejudices, a careful handling of the critical scales, and a resolute thrusting aside of all irrelevant matter. He has not, as we shall soon see, succeeded so well in his chosen task as M. Brunetière has; but then Mr. Gosse is not M. Brunetière, and the British public is not the French. It was, perhaps, inevitable that, having his public in mind, he should call Dickens "a colossal genius"; but, as he immediately proceeds to make the necessary qualifications, we forgive him. His fellow-critics would never have forgiven him had he failed to assert that Shelley was a greater poet than Byron; but a few of us notice with pleasure that his whole treatment of the two men goes to show that Shelley was merely the greater singer,—a very different matter, although contemporary British and American criticism does not seem to perceive it.

As for the delicacy with which Mr. Gosse insinuates that judgment of the late Laureate must for the present be held in abeyance; that Matthew Arnold's letters have damaged his reputation; that Carlyle's "voice" was his strongest organ,—for these things and for half a hundred as neat "summings up" as can be found in any volume of the same scope, the reader must simply go to the delightful book itself. He will differ at times from this and that position taken, as, for example, from the ruthless and somewhat ill-informed remarks about Milton's prose; but it is hard to see how he can lay Mr. Gosse's manual down without feeling that England has at least one absolutely clear-headed critic who is not too old to do battle as well with her Philistine hosts as with the enlightened young scions of culture who are at present the chief menace to her literary and artistic advancement.

It must have been some of these young scions that furnished the glowing notices of Prof. Murray's "Greek Literature" when it first made its appearance. Judging from their eulogies, one might have inferred that the perennial subject had never before been handled so freshly and so adequately. A somewhat belated reader may, however, be allowed to doubt whether in Prof. Murray's case freshness of treatment has not often meant freakishness. Surely it is freakish to lay more stress on Sappho's beautiful fragment about the "one sweet apple very red" than upon her divinely passionate love-odes. It is worse than freakish in the writer of a popular manual to devote page after page to the Homeric question while leaving Homer himself almost out of sight. But some of Mr. Murray's chapters are very interesting, for example, that on Herodotus; and he is at most times eminently sug-

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gestive. If one indulges in the habit of marking one's books, one will probably disfigure the margins of this volume. But it may be questioned whether originality and suggestiveness are the prime attributes requisite in the literary historian who is addressing a popular audience. Tact, rounded scholarship, and, above all, a capacity to arouse the enthusiasm of the reader for the really supreme writers, are, it would seem, much more indispensable qualities. It is well enough, for example, to have a popular historian of Greek literature who can give us as interesting a section on Orphism as Mr. Murray has done, or who will take the pains to lay stress on the beauty of the non-erotic fragments of Mimnermus; but such a historian should also have given us a more adequate treatment of Sappho, and should have had something to say about the plaintive sadness of Mimnermus.

Freakishness is the last charge that can fairly be brought against Prof. Dowden's "French Literature." That admirable critic is too experienced a book-maker not to have learned long since what sort of facts, and the inferences to be drawn from them, are needed by the public that reads manuals. He has even succeeded in taming his quondam rhetorical exuberance, and has produced a book that is in every respect scholarly, sober, and generally accurate. He is not so successful as Mr. Gosse in making us feel the evolution that has taken place in the literature he treats, nor does he cause us to jot down so many exclamation-marks as does Mr. Murray; although he, too, can sometimes turn a neat and most suggestive sentence. But he has given a dignified and succinct account of French literature that will be found useful by many a reader. His sense of proportion is unusually good; and his taste is excellent. He has rarely allowed himself to stray from the paths beaten for him by the great French critics, and is thus trustworthy in most particulars. To be sure, it is a little hard for an admirer of Balzac to find that supreme genius treated in a grudging fashion and given no greater space than is allotted to Michelet; but, on this point, Prof. Dowden offends no worse than M. Pellissier and other French critics who might be named.

The mention of M. Pellissier suggests the regret that our accomplished British critic did not see fit to bring his volume down beyond 1850. Even his ungrudging recognition of the supremacy of Victor Hugo's position among the poets of this century hardly makes up, in a popular manual, for the absence of all mention of Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Augier, and Dumas *fils*. It is true that for such modern writers one can go to several recent books, among them Mrs.

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Brinton's sumptuous, but not very exact, rendering of Pellissier's uneven "Mouvement Littéraire au XIX^e^ Siècle"; yet there is very little reason why Prof. Dowden, despite his remarks about the impossibility of treating impartially the literature of one's own day, should have forced his readers to resort to any other book than his own, save always the remarkable volume we are finally about to examine.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière had been pronounced to be the first of living critics some time before he visited our shores and delighted with his mellifluous French the large audiences that paid tribute to his fame. If there were any real doubts about his primacy, save in the minds of the thorough-going supporters of his great and delightful rival, M. Lemaître, they ought to be laid at rest immediately by his latest volume, "Manuel de l' Histoire de la Littérature française." As a well-known American critic said but the other day, he has displayed in this wonderful work the acumen and insight of a heaven-born philosopher, and the patience and erudition of a Benedictine monk. He has done what others have timidly attempted, but what probably no one has ever before succeeded in accomplishing. He has described the evolution of a great literature without encumbering his text with a tittle of biography or bibliography *per se*, without even using names except when they are so representative as practically to be needed as technical terms. It is the mind of the French nation in its various stages of development, and the gradual birth and expansion of the various forms of literature in which that mind has expressed itself through the course of about nine centuries, that constitute the theme on which M. Brunetière writes with such commanding authority, if not always with persuasive charm. In other words, he is the first critic who has ever really succeeded in giving us literary history in essence, undiluted by biography or purely æsthetical speculations or disquisitions on this or that favorite or detested book. In short, he is a pioneer who has not merely blazed, but actually cut a broad path, through forests hitherto deemed impassable, into a virgin country hardly more than dreamed of. If anyone be inclined to question this praise as hyperbolical, let him read a score of literary histories chosen at random and then sit down to master M. Brunetière's volume. To resume our metaphor, he may trip his toes over more than one stump or root; but, if he do not perceive that a path has been cut, it will be because his eyes have been blinded by the dust accumulated on the other twenty volumes.

It must not be supposed, however, that M. Brunetière is ignorant of the value of biography, of bibliography, and of æsthetic criticism to

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the careful student of literature. He has merely relegated these to their proper place in such a book—the footnotes. It is true that he gives these notes in such a voluminous and connected way that they take up about one-half of every page, and so form a second volume in smaller type running immediately below the text proper; but that they are still notes is indicated by the number of dashes employed and by the abbreviated forms of expression which he allows himself to use. It is here, in this mass of small print, which tries both the eyes and the attentive powers of the reader, that M. Brunetière's immense erudition and the marvellously subtle play of his mind receive their most formal exposition. The bibliographies given are full and, doubtless, well chosen (on this point only a specialist is competent to speak); the relations of the particular author with his times are carefully epitomized; his qualities, good and bad, are enumerated; various questions, æsthetic and other, are raised in connection with his work; and lines of private research and reflection are indicated,—all this within a compass that would hardly allow some of our literary historians to inform us that an author under discussion had even got out of college. In all probability, no such treasury of information and suggestion in such a convenient and useful form has ever been thrown open to the student. To describe it more specifically is practically impossible, unless it were permissible to quote a page or two of footnotes bound together by dashes—a procedure which would effectually alienate most of my readers. It must suffice, therefore, to state that one will find a more adequate criticism of Balzac in the eleven half-pages of notes that M. Brunetière devotes to him than can be found not merely in the combined pages of Prof. Dowden and M. Pellissier, but in the hundreds of pages of M. Barière's rather well-known volume, or in most of the essays that have been written about the great novelist, saving only those of M. Taine and Mr. George Moore. In short, if M. Lanson's excellent history of French literature made us wish for a similar treatment of English and American literature, M. Brunetière's volume makes us feel almost like paupers in this regard, in spite of Mr. Gosse's success.

We may conclude our survey of the work that has been done of late in literary history by remarking that it is plain that the future will see great use made of the principle of coöperation,—by which immense masses of facts will be properly coördinated,—and that the popular series and the manual will be put to fresh uses and be greatly improved. The manuals used by college students to-day are in most respects far superior to those accessible a generation ago; and it is needless to

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say that they are more intelligently employed. The usefulness of the series also in giving a bird's-eye view of the field of literature is something that is comparatively new and that cannot well be overestimated as a means of popular culture.

In comprehensive surveys by single scholars we are hardly doing more than holding our own; for we have no Bouterwek, and are obliged, as we have seen, to combine several scholars in order to replace Hallam. Prof. Tyler serves, however, to remind us that the days of the Ginguenés, the Mures, and the Ticknors are not gone forever. But not even Prof. Tyler's volumes, or the series and manuals we have passed in review, can prevent us from feeling that there are still many attempts to be made before we shall obtain ideal histories of literature.

The evolution of the various genres is a matter that is now greatly occupying students of literature; but the results of their studies have hardly begun to take shape in the form of compressed histories. We still need volumes which shall trace the evolution of the ode, the satire, the essay, the short story,—to say nothing of the greater forms of prose and poetry through all the chief literatures. Then we shall need some scholar with the patience of a Tiraboschi, the ambition of a Bouterwek, and the acumen and scholarship of, let us say, a Brunetière, to give us a broad survey of the vicissitudes of either of the two great divisions of literature, poetry and prose, in the Western World. If this shall ever be done, we may then be bold enough to look forward to still more gigantic undertakings covering the entire field of literature: for the scientists tell us that the average life of man is being lengthened; and who shall set bounds to his ambitions? W. P. TRENT.

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WRITERS IN THE APRIL FORUM.

PROF. CHARLES B. BLISS was born in Broome County, New York, in 1868, was graduated from Yale College in 1890, and received the degree of Ph.D. from Yale University in 1893. During 1893–4 he was assistant in the Yale Psychological Laboratory, and lecturer on psycho-physics, and since 1894 has been professor of experimental psychology in the New York University School of Pedagogy.

MR. THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES, M.P., born 1842, was educated at King's College, London. In 1868 he established the society paper, "Vanity Fair." He is honorary lieutenant in the Royal Naval Reserve. Mr. Bowles's article, "England, Turkey, and India," in THE FORUM for October, 1897, attracted considerable attention.

MR. CHARLES UPSON CLARK, born in Springfield, Mass., in 1875, was educated at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and Yale University, graduating from the latter in 1897.

MR. WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS, born at Akron, Ohio, was graduated at Western Reserve College, began his professional career with the Cleveland "Leader" during his college vacations; joined the staff of "The Inter-Ocean," of Chicago, as a reporter, shortly after that paper started, and served continuously for sixteen years in almost every capacity until he resigned the desk of editor-in-chief to accept an appointment from President Arthur as commissioner to the republics of Central and South America. Mr. Curtis became the Washington correspondent of the Chicago "Record" in 1888, and has continued to hold that position, with occasional intervals—when serving in an official capacity under the United States Government. He was Executive Officer of the International American Conference; founder and first director of the Bureau of American Republics; Special Envoy to carry the invitation of Congress to the Queen of Spain and the Duke of Veragua to attend the World's Columbian Exposition; Special Envoy to the Vatican; Commissioner to the Columbian Exposition at Madrid in 1892; Chief of the Latin-American Department and Historical Section at the World's Fair; built the convent of La Rabida and the Caravels, and made the Collection of Columbiana. Mr. Curtis is author of "The Capitals of Spanish America," "The Land of the Nihilist," "The United States and Foreign Powers," "Handbook to the American Republics," "Trade and Transportation," "The Children of the Sun," "The Yankees of the East," and other volumes, and is recognized as an eminent authority upon Central and South American affairs.

HON. WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS was born at North Killingly, Conn., September 10, 1835, was educated at sundry academies, and for two years and a half was a member of Yale College in the class of 1858. In 1869, the College bestowed upon him the degree of A.M., and, in 1895, the degree of LL.D. Mr. Harris was superintendent of public schools in St. Louis from 1867 to 1880, and in 1889 was appointed United States Commissioner of Education.

(Continued on page 12.)

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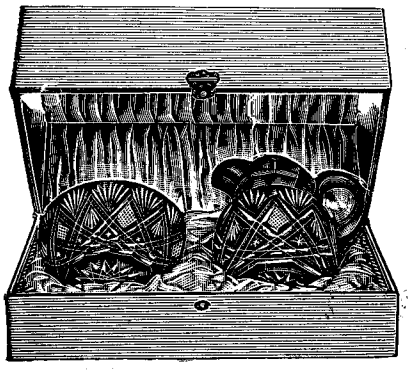

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MR. SIDNEY LOW was born in London, England, in 1857. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford, and was called to the bar at the Inner Temple. For some years Mr. Low was lecturer on modern history at King's College, London, and for the University Extension Society. From 1888 to 1897 he was editor of the "St. James's Gazette." Mr. Low coöperated with the late Prof. F. S. Pulling in the production of a "Dictionary of English History."

MAJ.-GEN. NELSON A. MILES was born at Westminster, Mass., August 8, 1839. He served as a volunteer in the Army of the Potomac throughout the Civil War, attaining the rank of major-general of volunteers. At the close of the War, he accepted a commission as colonel in the regular army, and was promoted major-general in 1890. He has conducted several campaigns against hostile Indians on the Western frontiers, notably that against the Apaches under Geronimo and Natchez, both of whom surrendered September 4, 1886. Gen. Miles is now in command of the United States Army.

MR. JOHN MACKINNON ROBERTSON was born in 1856 at Brodick, Isle of Arran, Scotland. After schooling in Stirlingshire he commenced life as a telegraph boy at 13; later, served in law and insurance offices; and began writing for minor journals at 17. At 21, joined the regular staff of an Edinburgh daily. At 28, went to London to join that of Mr. Bradlaugh's weekly, "The National Reformer"; devoting himself to general literary work. At Mr. Bradlaugh's death, in 1891, Mr. Robertson became editor of "The National Reformer"; carrying it on till 1893, when he started in its place a monthly, "The Free Review," which has since been merged in "The University Magazine." For some years Mr. Robertson has been the chosen candidate of the Advanced Radicals of Northampton, which constituency (formerly Mr. Bradlaugh's) he unsuccessfully contested at the general election of 1895. His published works are: "Essays towards a Critical Method"; "Modern Humanists"; "The Fallacy of Saving"; and "The Eight Hours Question." His later works are: "Buckle and his Critics: a Study in Sociology"; "The Saxon and the Celt"; "New Essays towards a Critical Method"; and "Montaigne and Shakspere." Since November last, he has been lecturing in the United States.

PROF. BRUNO SCHRADER was born in 1861, in Braunschweig. He was one of the last pupils of Liszt, upon whose recommendation he was installed at the Grossherzogliche Musikschule, at Weimar, as professor of music, the history of music, and pianoforte playing. He removed to Jena, where he became interested in philosophical studies bearing upon the history of music. Upon the suggestion of Prof. Chrysander, he has twice visited Italy to extend the field of his investigations. He is recognized as one of the foremost promoters of the Handel movement.

MR. MILTON H. SMITH is president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company. His long experience as a traffic and an executive officer entitles him to speak with authority on the subject discussed in his article.

PROF. WILLIAM PETERFIELD TRENT was born at Richmond, Va., in 1862, and was graduated from the University of Virginia in 1884. Since 1888 he has been professor of English and history in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

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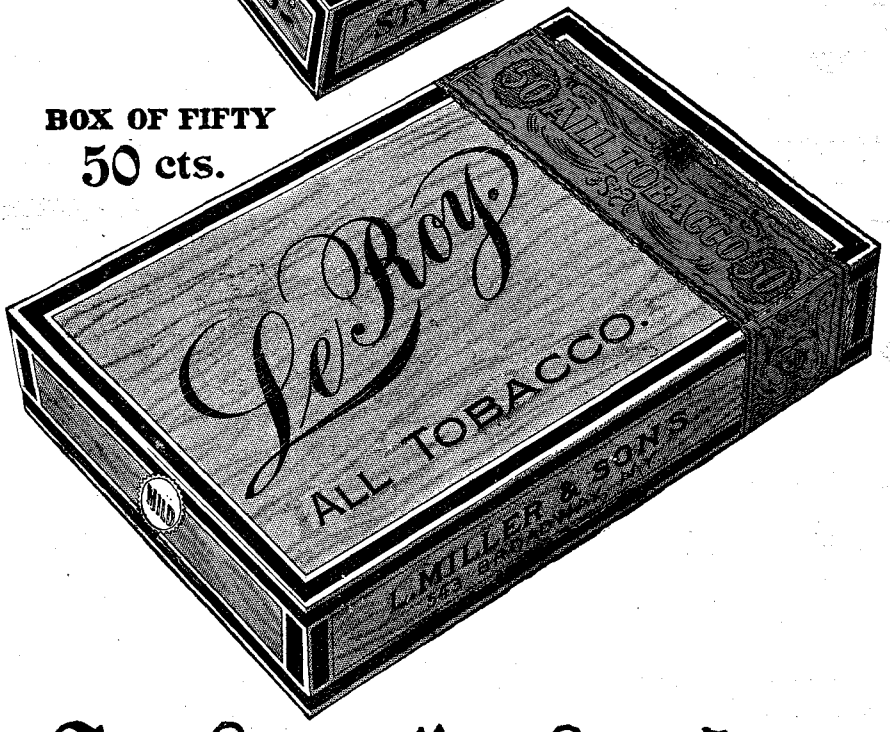

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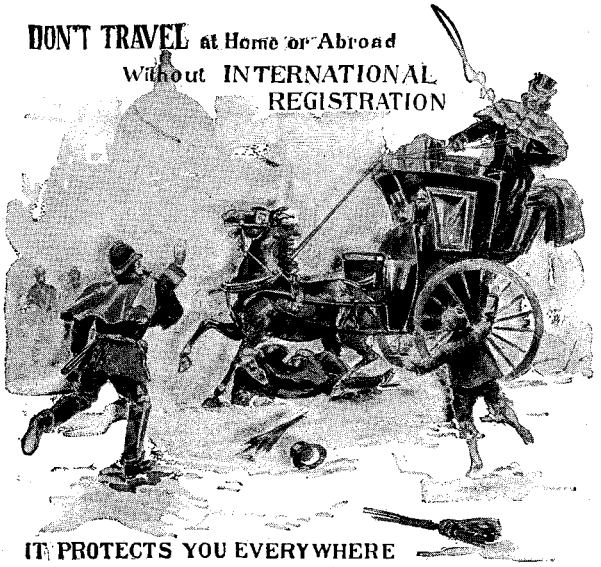

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Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate,	5,906,610.72
Interest accrued but not due,	227,730.38
Loans on collateral security,	945,400.94
Loans on this Company's Policies,	1,106,580.51
Deferred Life Premiums,	299,990.19
Prems. due and unreported on Life Policies,	228,448.75
United States Bonds,	14,000.00
State, county and Municipal Bonds,	3,612,646.78
Railroad stocks and bonds,	4,664,205.75
Bank stocks,	1,064,047.00
Other stocks and bonds,	1,449,455.00
Total Assets,	$22,868,994.16

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department,	$16,650,062.00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Dep't,	1,365,817.22
Present value, Instalment Life Policies.	426,288.00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers,	299,066.30
Losses unadjusted,	269,794.94
Life Premiums paid in advance,	25,330.58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.,	110,000.00
Total Liabilities,	$19,146,359.04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.	$3,722,635.12
Surplus to Stockholders	$2,722,635.12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Life Insurance in force	$91,882,210.00
New Life Insurance written in 1897	14,507,249.00

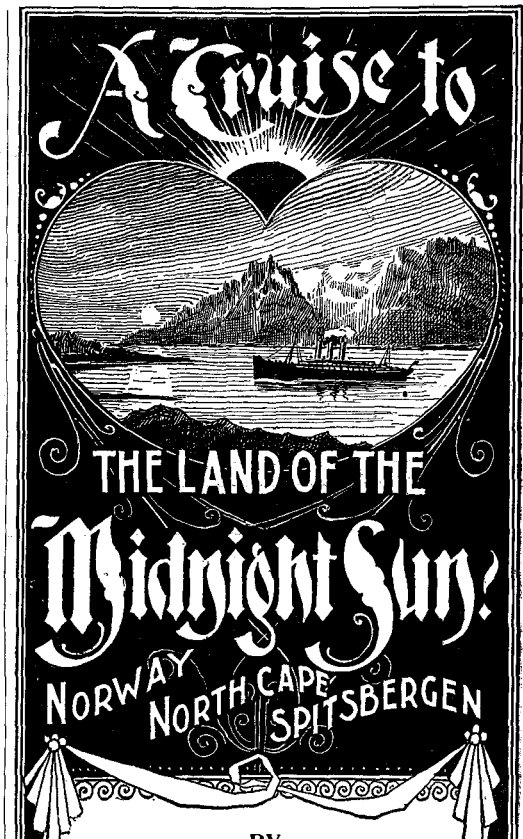
Insurance issued under the Annuity Plan is entered at the commuted value thereof as required by law.

Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	1,235,585.39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	13,150,350.57

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number Accident Claims paid in 1897,	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid,	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	$1,381,906.81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	21,210,095.96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897	$2,617,492.20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	34,360,626.53

GEORGE ELLIS, Secretary.
JOHN E. MORRIS, Ass't Secretary.
EDWARD V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.
J. B. LEWIS, M.D., Surgeon and Adjuster.
SYLVESTER C. DUNHAM, Counsel.



BY

Hamburg-American Line's

Twin-Screw Express Steamship

AUGUSTE = VICTORIA

Leaving New York on **June 23**, at 9 A.M.

ITINERARY.—From **New York**, June 23, 1898. Due **Hamburg**, July 1. Leave **Hamburg**, July 5, for **Hardangerfjord, Odde, Molde, Romsdalsfjord, Veblungsnaes, Trondhjem, Spitsbergen** (*Icefjord*), **North Cape** of Europe, **Tromsoe, Lofoten Islands, Digermulen, Vestfjord,** *Storfjord, Stryngsfjord, Sunelvsfjord,* **Geirangerfjord, Geiranger, Joerundfjord, Sognefjord,** *Aurlandsfjord, Naercefjord,* **Gudvangen,** *Naercedal,* **Stalheimsklev,** *Vossevangen,* **Bergen, Hamburg, New York.**

Passengers have the privilege of extending their stay in Europe, or they may return to America by the first steamer leaving for New York after their return to Hamburg. The entire trip can be made in about six weeks. For further particulars, descriptive pamphlet, rates, etc., address

Hamburg-American Line,

New York: 37 Broadway.
Chicago: 159 Randolph St.
San Francisco: 401 California St.
Boston: 70 State St.
Philadelphia: 337 Walnut St.

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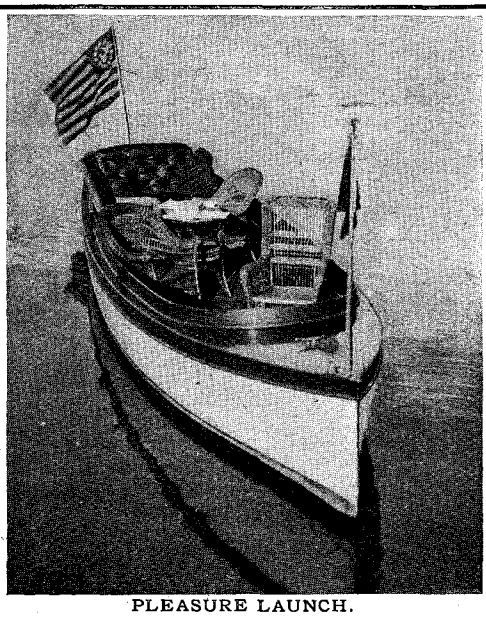

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(*Send for illustrated booklet.*)

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Electric Launch

As yacht tender or pleasure boat is the most practical, serviceable and *commodious* power craft afloat.

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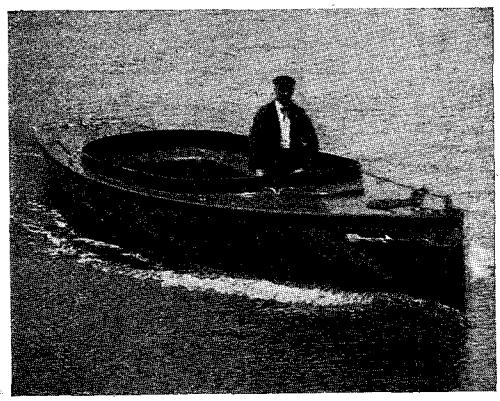

The Largest Insurance Company in the World

The Mutual Life Insurance Company

OF NEW YORK

RICHARD A. McCURDY, President

Assets, Dec. 31, 1897	$253,786,437 66
Liabilities	$218,278,243 07
Surplus	$35,508,194 59
Paid to Policy-holders since organization	$462,997,250 71
Income in 1897	$54,162,608 23
Increase of Income in 1897	$4,459,912 96
Increase of Surplus and Decrease of Expenses	$5,774,679 89
	$146,178 31

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NO MUDDY SEDIMENT

Due to diseased yeast cells or germs or other contamination in

EVANS' ALE

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Brilliant and Clear to the last drop.

The World's Standard for Perfection in Bottled Ale.

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Brewers, Malsters, and Bottlers.

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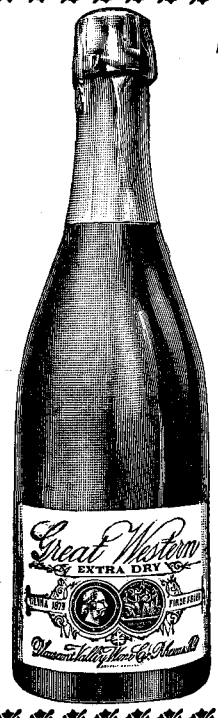

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of absolute **PURITY,** fine **BOUQUET** and moderate **PRICE** has brought

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to the first place in American Champagnes, and enabled it to displace the high-priced foreign wines in many homes, clubs, and cafés.

The vintage offered this season is especially dry and pleasing.

Pleasant Valley Wine Co.,

SOLE MAKERS,

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The Captol Hair Tonic is a new and invaluable discovery made by the celebrated professor of dermatology, **Dr. P. J. Eichhoff, Elberfeld,** Germany, and is highly recommended by him as a most effective specific for cleansing, refreshing and strengthening the scalp and stimulating the nerves of the head. Captol completely eradicates scurf and dandruff in 10 to 14 days, and is a sure preventive of baldness. (*See Deutsche Medicin. Wochenschrift, 1897, No. 41.*)

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THE COMFORTABLE CURE

Endorsed by leading Physicians for quick relief of insomnia and all nervous troubles, and curing La Grippe, Asthma, Bronchitis, and all pulmonary ailments while you are abed and asleep. The aromatic

BALSAMIC SPRUCE BARK BED COMFORTABLES

made of the tender inner bark of the Canadian Spruce Tree stripped in the spring when the sap is rising in the tree, and converted into a soft smooth sheet as pliable as cloth. They are an inestimable boon to the sick and a luxury to those who enjoy good health.

Price at dealers $2.00, or send Two Dollars for sample Spruce Bark Bed Comfortable, full bed size, shipped carriage and duty free anywhere in the U. S. or Canada, packed in a wooden bag handsomely polished to show the natural grain of the wood and yet pliable as the silk with which it is lined. Money refunded if not satisfied.

Send for booklet with numerous testimonials.

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Eat one and You'll eat a dozen.

Wholesome & Appetizing

Most delicious of all Relishes.

A Revelation to Epicures.

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BECAUSE THE HOUSEWIFE
DIDN'T USE

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Malt-Nutrine brings the balm of slumber to those tortured with insomnia. It soothes the irritated nerves, makes the blood rich and lively and greatly aids digestion. It makes buoyant health and good spirits—makes strong the weak and the strong stronger. It is equally nourishing to the nursing mother who takes it and the babe who gets the indirect benefit. Malt-Nutrine is prepared by the celebrated Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, which fact guarantees the purity, excellence and merit claimed for it.

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Gives Vigorous Health.

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Oxydonor Applied.

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The **Oxydonor** thus causes the Natural cure of all forms of disease in Men, Women, and Children, without medicine or electricity. Plain directions with each appliance.

Get the genuine made by the Discoverer and Inventor Dr. H. Sanche. Beware of Imitations.

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if it is really good will not roughen, chap and inflame the skin as so many impure soaps do.

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This year's "Search-Light" Lamp is identical with last year's. No change was necessary. It filled the requirements last year and it will this year. It never blows out nor jars out.

For sale by all dealers. Send for Booklet 311.

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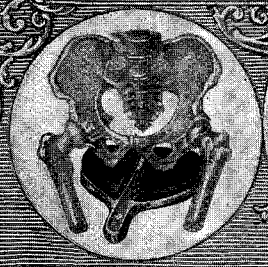

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"Roanoke" 1¼ in. tubing, flush joints, 2-piece cranks; Morgan & Wright Tires. $29.00

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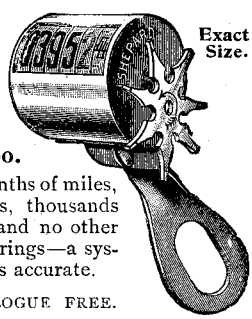

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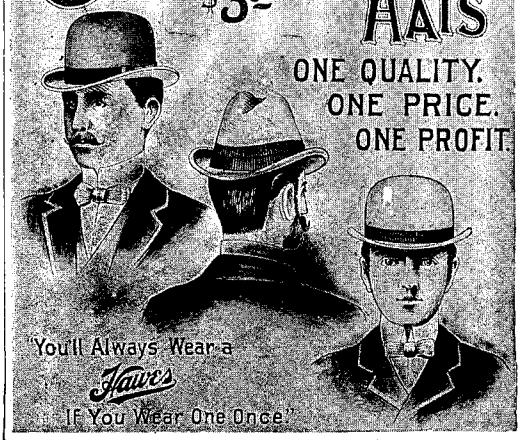

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MAKE CLOUDS OF THICK CREAMY LATHER

THE ONLY KIND THAT WILL THOROUGHLY SOFTEN THE BEARD-SOOTHE AND REFRESH THE FACE-AND MAKE SHAVING A POSITIVE LUXURY.

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Round—"just fits the cup." Delicate perfume.

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10 cents.

Oldest and most famous cake of shaving soap in the world.

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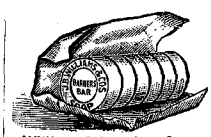

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Sure cure for "chapped hands."
6 cakes in a package—40 cents
Trial sample for a 2 cent stamp.

NOTE—If your dealer fails to supply you—we mail these soaps to any address—prepaid—on receipt of price.

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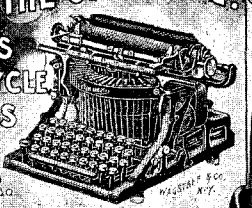

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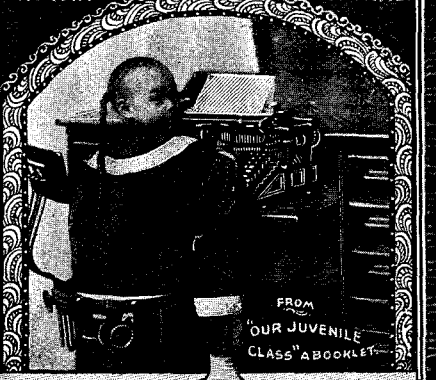

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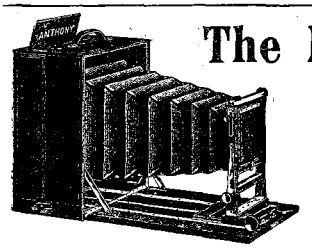

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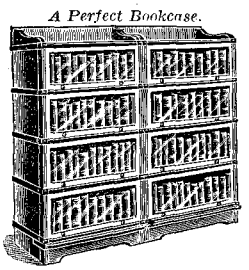

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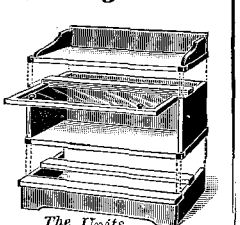

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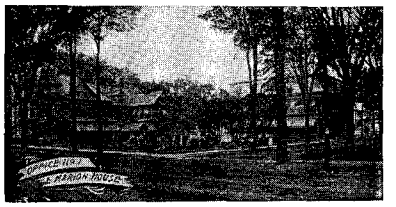
BLINDNESS PREVENTED.

The Absorption Treatment a Success
in treating all forms of diseased eyes without **Knife or Risk.**

Over 75,000 treatments given at our institution in '97. Representative people from all parts of United States and Canada endorse this institution. . . . . .



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Pamphlet Free, describing home treatment and institution, the largest and most successful in America.

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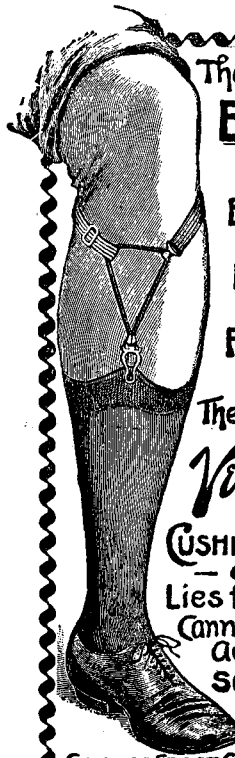

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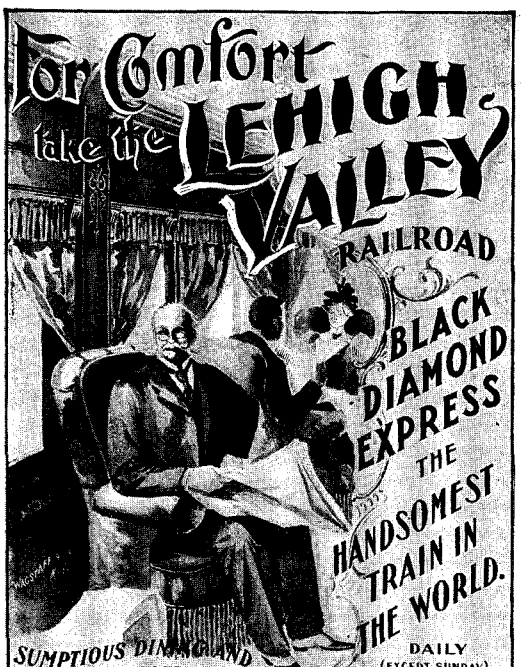

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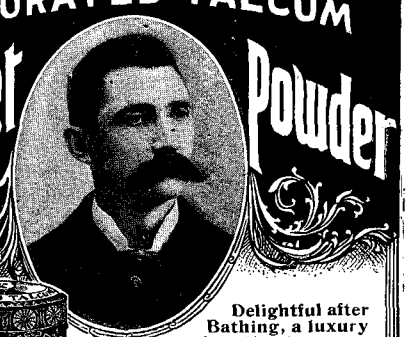

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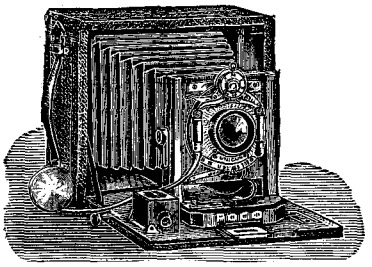

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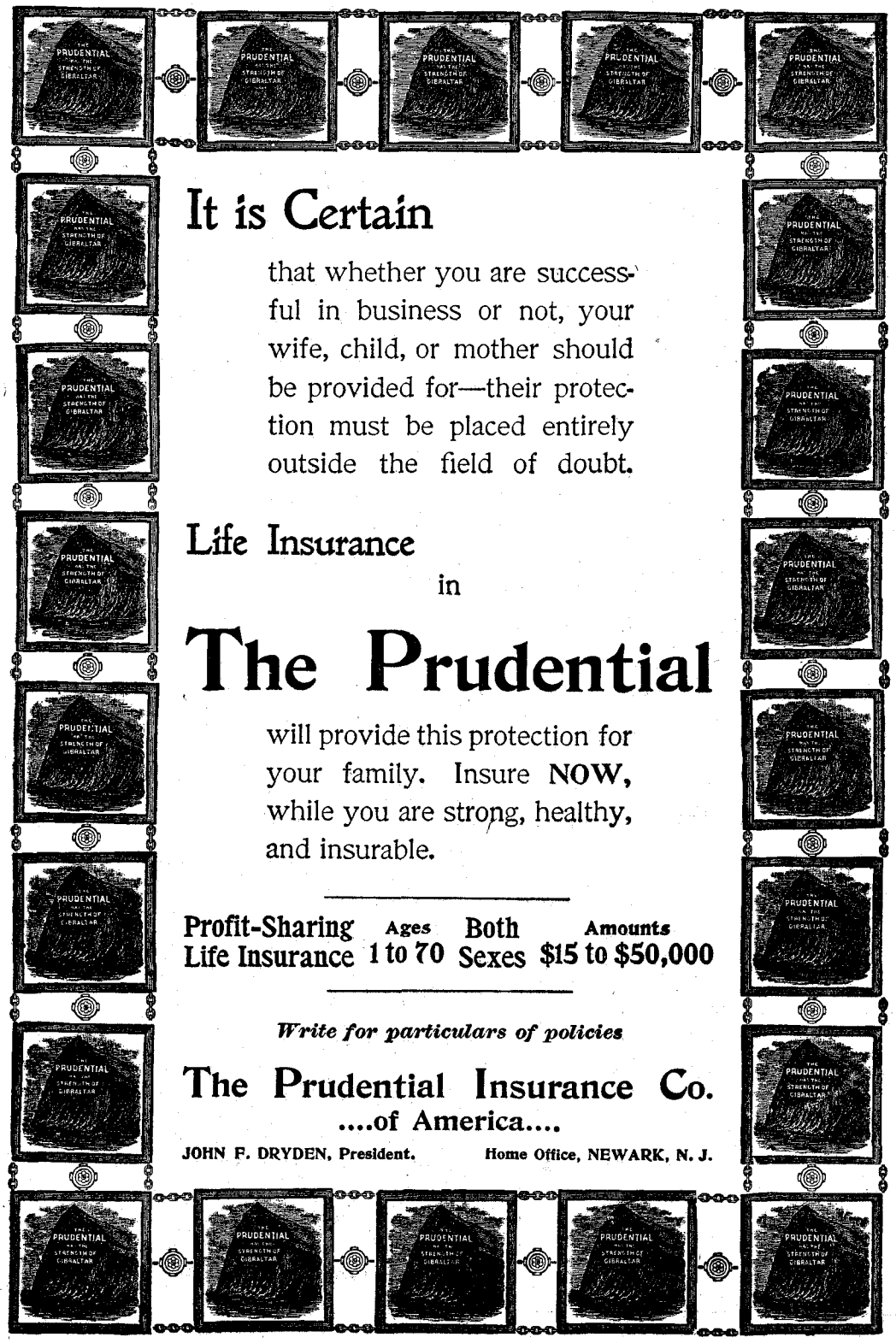

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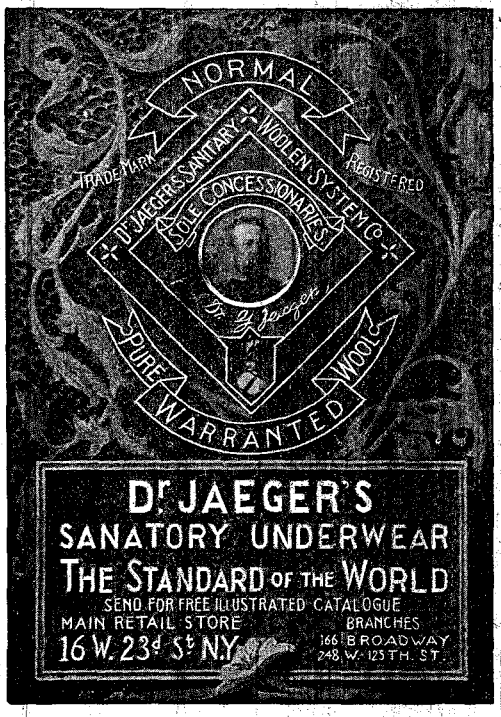

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